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ROYAL ARCHERS OF DARIUS

Enamelled Bricks, obtained from the Ruins of Susa by M. Dieulafoy

(MUSEUM OF THE LOUVRE)

Imp. Dufrenoy. Paris.

HISTORY OF GREECE,

AND OF THE GREEK PEOPLE,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

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"STUDIES AND RAMBLES IN GREECE," ETC.

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CHAPTER XV.

GENERAL HELLENIC INSTITUTIONS.

I. — HELLENISM AND THE AMPHIKTYONIES.

WE have now made the circuit of the Mediterranean from Lykia to Massalia, and from Kyrene to Macedon. The most noteworthy fact which we have remarked is the twofold movement of expansion without and isolation within. The Greeks people all coasts, and divide themselves into as many States as they have built hamlets. Sovereign power is, in their eyes, essentially municipal.¹ To form a State they need nothing more than a fortified enclosure wherein to collect their harvests or find shelter in case of need; and even less than this will suffice. A sterile rock is too vast for one republic. The island of the Phaiakians had twelve chiefs, over whom Alkinoös had scarcely any supremacy. He was a king of the Homeric age; but the Greece of history kept the same customs. Islands like Peparethos



ILIAC TABLE.²

¹ The city is an essentially Greek product. (See Taine, *Philosophie de l'art*, I. ii. § 5.)

² Fragment of a relief known as the *Iliac Table*, now in the Museum of the Capitol (from O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, pl. 1, A). This relief, badly mutilated and in a much poorer state of preservation than is here indicated, was discovered on the Appian Way, in the ruins of the city of Bovillæ. It is doubtless not of earlier date than the first century of the Empire, and was probably, like maps and globes, used in the instruction of youth. It is a sort of illustrated summary of the *Iliad*, and the pupil, questioned as to some book or passage of the poem, had this before his eyes. The scene represented here is taken from book i., lines 54 *et seq.* The Greeks in arms meet and deliberate. In the foreground is Agamemnon (ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ), sword in hand, and Nestor (ΝΕΣΤΩΡ). Both are seated. Achilles (ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ), at the right, advances, drawing his sword; but Athene (ΑΘΗΝΑ), standing behind him, has seized him by the hair, and holds him back (v. 197 *et seq.*).

and Amorgas have each two or three independent cities. The people of Megaris boasted, when they offered their citizenship to Alexander, that it had never been given to any since Herakles; and when, after Aigospotamoi, Sparta asked them to bestow this honor upon one of the chiefs who had just aided in the conquest of their hated rival: "Make him a Spartan first," they said, "and after that we will make him a citizen of Megaris."

Also the gods are local. When the Pythia was interrogated as to the proper sacrifices to make and rites to perform for the dead, the reply was: "Conform to the laws of your own country." At the same time there was an Hellenic religion and a Greek people; for all, from Olympos to Cape Tainaron, regarded as strangers and enemies all peoples who did not speak their language² and did not worship their gods. Pelasgos, king of Argos, reviles the Egyptian herald thus:—

SILVER COIN.¹

"Ho, there! What dost thou? and with what intent
Dost thou so outrage this Pelasgic land?
Too haughty, thou, a stranger 'gainst Hellenes,
And sinning much, hast nothing done aright."³

Doubtless the difference is great between the shepherd—rude worshipper of Arkadian Pan—and the elegant citizen of Athens or Miletos; but the resemblance is greater. Besides having the same language and the same cult, there is a moral likeness. The horizon of the one is wide, of the other limited; but both see similar things, and both repulse what are found among contemporary nations,—human sacrifices, mutilations, polygamy, the sale of children by the father (as in Thrace and at Rome even), and the servile obedience of the Asiatic to his Great King. Both lay aside their garments to contend naked in the public games, which would be a disgrace, say Herodotos and Plato, in almost any bar-

¹ Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: ΑΙΓΙΑ (Αἰγιάλων). Pan, seated, playing on the syrinx. At the left a symbol. (Coin of Aigaialos, in the Island of Amorgas.)

² Four principal dialects were spoken by the Greeks, — the Aiolic, Doric, Ionic, and Attic. In the Ionic are distinguished the Old and the New, — the former being the language of Homer, the latter that of Herodotos. The Attic was spoken in Athens during the Periklean period, and is the most refined and elegant form of the Greek language.

³ *Suppliants*, 914, 915 [Dr. Plumptre's Eng. trans., p. 170].

barian country; but in another range of facts, both, with a feeling of their common origin, will not tolerate the idea that their city should be swallowed up in one of those vast States which are so easily brought together in Asia. Lastly, the Homeric poems, sung from one end of Hellas to the other, are a sacred book, and make the one ideal fatherland which Panhellenic Zeus protects.

There is then a Greek people distinct from the Barbarians; and there is also, as says Herodotos,¹ "a Grecian race of the same blood and language," — τὸ Ἑλληνικόν; and this same word is later used to signify civilization itself.²

This resemblance as to customs and ideas naturally induced the Greeks, without any design on their part, to recognize some general institutions, which had, it is true, less a coercive power than a certain force of attraction and of cohesion; I speak of the Amphiktyonies, the public games, and the oracles.

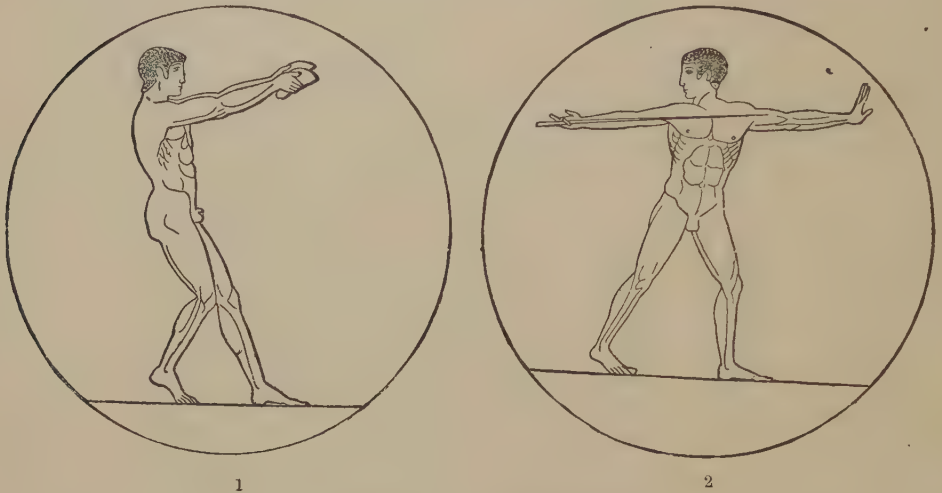
PAN.³

¹ viii. 144. Thucydides (i. 3) says that this distinction is of recent date, and was unknown in Homer's time; "for though born long after the Trojan war, he has nowhere called all Greeks Hellenes; . . . nor, again, does he speak of Barbarians, because neither were the Hellenes, in my opinion, as yet distinguished by one common name in opposition to that."

² Marble statue obtained from the Borghese Villa, and now in the Museum of the Louvre. (Cf. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 325, No. 506.) Pan is seated on a rock over which is laid a panther's skin. He raises the left hand, which holds a flute, and in his other hand is a bunch of grapes. The head is from another statue; the right arm and the legs are modern.

³ Isokrates, *Panegyrr.*, 50.

The Amphiktyonies were associations at once political and religious, formed, as the name indicates, by a certain number of neighboring States for the purpose of regulating their relations to one another.¹ Never, except at their latest hour, did the Greeks rise to the idea of a federal constitution by which the strength of the separate States might be united and in this way doubled. But



ATHLETES AT THEIR EXERCISE.²

the sentiment of fraternal union existed among them at all times, notwithstanding the wars which they constantly waged against one another. To this spirit is referable the establishment of the Amphiktyonies. In ancient times these leagues were numerous. There was one at Onchestos, for the Boiotians; another at the Isthmus of Corinth for Athens, Sikyon, Argos, and Megara; a third in the Island of Kalaureia, opposite Troizen, for Hermione, Épidauros, Aigina, Athens, Orchomenos, and two cities — Prasiai and Nauplia — which later gave up their places in the league to Sparta and Argos; others still, at the temple of Here, between

¹ "Neighbors," ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμφὶ κίρζεσθαι, according to Valois. Wescher (*Étude sur le monum. bilingue de Delphes*) always uses the word "*Amphictions*" when he means the Delphic Amphiktyony. The Pylaic Amphiktyony, being connected with the hero Amphiktyon, is spelled with the *y*. Both spellings are found in the Delphic inscription.

² Graffiti on a votive disk of bronze, in the British Museum; from the *Gazette archéol.*, i. (1875), pl. xxxv. 1. The athlete holds his dumb-bells in his two hands, and throws himself backwards, preparing for his jump. 2. Reverse of the same disk. The athlete prepares to hurl the javelin which he holds, one of the fingers of the right hand having been passed through the ring of the *agkyte*, a leathern thong by which the javelin is held in throwing it.

Argos and Mykenai; on the promontory of Samikon in Triphylia; at Amarynthos near Eretria, in Euboia; in the Island of Delos; in Ionia, Doris, and elsewhere. The old author of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* thus describes the festival at Delos:—

“There the long-trained Ionians are assembled in honor of thee, with their children and respected wives. But they, mindful, delight thee with boxing and dancing and song when they begin the contest. A man would say that they were immortal and without age, the Ionians who are there assembled opposite thee. For he would perceive the pleasure of all,



CHORUS OF YOUTHS AND MAIDENS.¹

and would be delighted in mind, both contemplating the men and the well-girt women and the swift ships and their many possessions.² And besides these this mighty marvel, the glory of which shall never perish, the Delian girls, the servants of the Far-Darter, who, after they have first sung of Apollo in hymns, and then of Leto and shaft-rejoicing Artemis, sing a hymn calling to mind the heroic men and women of old, and charm the crowds of men.”³

A temple was always the centre around which these confederations gathered, and a religious festival the occasion at which the deputies or the people themselves assembled; for the common cult of a divinity and participation in the same sacrifices were the only bond known to the ancient Greeks. Never did these leagues have that most important of sovereign attributes,—the executive authority.

¹ Fragment of the famous François Vase, in the Museum of Florence, from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. iv., plates lvi.–lvii. (Cf. *Annali*, 1848, p. 355, E. Braun.) Theseus (ΘΕΣΕΥΣ) celebrates the victory he has just gained over the Minotaur; he leads, to the sound of his lyre, the choir of youths and maidens whom he has saved; before him are the nurse (ΘΡΟΦΟΣ) and Ariadne (ΑΡΙΑΔΗ), the latter offering a flower to the hero. The girls are clad in long tunics. This garment was not peculiar to the Ionians; the long tunic was a holiday dress used also by the Dorians. (See W. Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*, pp. 115 and 119.)

² It appears that traffic had its place at the festivals at Delos, as well as at those of Thermopylai. See later, p. 310 and note 1.

³ Lines 143 *et seq.*

The most famous of these Amphiktyonies was that which assembled in the spring at Delphi, and in the autumn at Thermopylai, in the plain of Anthela, before and after the agricultural labors of the summer.¹ Tradition ascribed to Amphiktyon, son of Deukalion, the founding of this Amphiktyony; but Strabo attributes it to Akrisios, king of Argos. Whatever its origin may have been, it was certainly very ancient, as is shown by the names of the peoples that composed it. These were twelve in number,—Thessalians, Boiotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaiboi and Dolopes, Magnetes, Lokrians, Ainianes. Achaioi-Phthiotai, Malians, Oitaioi, and Phokidians.² Seven of these peoples dwelt north of Mount Oite, proving that this league was formed at the time of Thessalian superiority; that is to say, of the earliest Greek civilization.

Each people had two votes, making a total of twenty-four.³ This number remained the same until the time of Augustus; but



BRONZE COIN.⁴

the right of voting was sometimes transferred from one people to another, or divided between two branches of the same people. Thus Sparta had only one of the two Dorian votes; Athens, one of the two Ionian votes: the other vote belonging, in the former case to the mountaineers of Doris, in the latter to the Island of Euboea. The Ozolian Lokrians

(whose chief town was Amphissa) and the Epiknemidian, or Opountian (so called from Opous, their principal city), divided the Lokrian votes between them. The Dolopes, having been, on account of their plundering excursions into neighboring States, deprived of their

¹ Later both assemblies were held at Delphi. (Cf. Wescher, *Étude sur le monum. bilingue*, etc., p. 144.) The great festival of Apollo, to which the cities sent *theoroi*, with its sacred dramatic performance, its singing, dances, and a competition for prizes in music, occurred every ninth year (*ἐνναετηρίς*); later, the return of the Pythian Games came every fourth year; the "sacred truce" lasted for a year. (Cf. Foucart, *Mémoire sur les ruines et l'histoire de Delphes*, pp. 124–230.)

² I follow Foucart's list, the successful explorer at Delphi (*Mém. sur les ruines et l'histoire de Delphes*, p. 162). New discoveries have enabled him to treat the subject more fully in the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. (1883), p. 439.

³ The Perrhaiboi, Dolopes, Malians, and Oitaioi had among them six votes, but it is impossible to determine which were the two who had only one vote apiece.

⁴ Hieronmemon, on a Byzantine coin. IEPOMNA(μων) AI AI CEYHPOC. A Victory standing, facing left, holding a wreath in the right hand and a palm in the left; before her, a helmet on an altar; in the exergue: BYZANTIOIC. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Lucius Verus.)

Amphiktyonic rights, their votes were given to the Perrhaiboi. Finally, after the Third Sacred War the Macedonians were admitted in place of the Phokians. In the Amphiktyony, as in every primitive institution, the affairs of the State are placed under the protec-



EX-VOTO TO DEMETER.¹

tion of religion. Among the ancients, indeed, and especially in Greece, every act of importance took place at some altar, and was preceded or followed by a sacrifice. Hence it is not easy to distinguish between the religious and the political character in the functions of the Amphiktyonic Council. It is possible even that this assembly may have been, in the beginning, nothing more than a religious festival in honor of Demeter, the goddess of harvests, whose temple stood near Thermopylai. There assembled a great multitude of men, women, and children, — whole families, — who, having ended their agricultural labors for the season, came to rejoice together and to lay upon the altar of the goddess some slight tribute from the product of their fields. Others came thither at

¹ Marble bas-relief in the Louvre (Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique*, No. 59). At the right, Demeter, of colossal height, stands, holding in one hand a sceptre, in the other a cup (*phiale*), from which she pours a liquid on a circular altar placed in front of her. A file of suppliants advance towards the goddess with a goat which they are about to sacrifice to her; these are two men of mature age, followed by three epheboi and four young girls. Behind the altar a boy holds a dish full of fruit.

the same time from motives of devotion, curiosity, or business; and while the crowd gave themselves up to amusements or to the exchange of commodities,¹ the deputies of the twelve united



APOLLO DELPHINIOS.²

tribes deliberated as to public matters of common interest. For we must distinguish these two elements,—the general assembly of all the members of the Confederation, or, as Aischines calls it,

¹ These markets, or fairs, are like those which were established in the Middle Ages for the same objects near famous shrines, and were the continuation or extension of ancient customs. The traders had exemption from tax (*ἀτελεια*), and, it was said, owed this immunity to Akrisios. (On the pilgrimages of the ancients, see Maury, *Religions de la Grèce*, ii. 25 et seq.)

² Vase-painting (from Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des Monuments céramographiques*, vol. ii. pl. vi.). Apollo is seated on a high tripod which broad wings bear gently over the waves. Dolphins, springing out of the water, accompany him; hence the god is called *Delphinios*. He wears a wreath of laurel; with the left hand he touches the kithara; on the shoulder are his bow and quiver. The voyages of the god upon his tripod are doubtless allusions to the colonies founded by order of the Delphic oracle.

the *ekklesia* of the Amphiktyons, which was but rarely consulted; and the Council itself, formed of deputies representing the confederated States, who were called *Pylagorai* and *Hieromnemones*.

The latter seem to have been invested, as their name indicates, with a religious character of some kind; it is believed that it was their duty to convoke and preside over the Council, to guard the property of Apollo,¹ to prevent encroachments upon the domain of the god, to inflict fines upon any who committed such offences, and to keep in order the roads and bridges leading to the sanctuary.²

The *Pylagorai*, or orators, had the duty of defending in the assembly the interests of their tribe, and of giving advice to the *Hieromnemones*; the latter deliberated, and appear to have each represented one vote. The *Pylagorai* were allowed to speak, but not to vote, and were of indeterminate number; all were called *Synedroi*, "those who sit together." In Athens, the former were designated by lot, and the latter were elected.

When we speak of a Council thus representing all Greece, it must not be supposed that there was in session at Delphi anything like a governing body having charge of the general affairs of the country. On the contrary, each Greek State was entirely free; and when two millions of Asiatics fell upon Hellas, the Amphiktyons were not seen to take the direction of the defence. Only after the victory did they reappear and take action. Then they set a price upon and devoted to the gods the head of the traitor who had opened to the enemy the gate of Greece; and they erected to the heroes of Thermopylai a funeral monument, with an inscription that has become immortal.

By these facts we comprehend the real character of the Amphiktyons. To decree national rewards, to erect statues or tombs to those who have well served the common country, or to hurl maledictions upon the guilty,—these are acts truly amphiktyonic both in the nature of the rewards and chastisements, which bear the stamp of religion, and because this lofty dispensing of penal-

¹ Wescher (*Étude sur le monum. bilingue*, etc., 53) believes the consecrated territory to have been about seven miles broad, and twelve or fifteen long.

² *C. I. G.*, No. 1,698. In the theatre of Dionysos at Athens one of the reserved seats is marked *ἱερομνήμωνος*. This was the place where the hieromnemon of Athens sat.

ties and honors was the rightful prerogative of the supreme tribunal of the Hellenic race, — the image of the Olympian council of the Twelve Great Gods.

As a religious tribunal, the Council of the Amphiktyons wielded among the Greek States a sort of supreme jurisdiction in the inter-



BURIAL SCENE: THE DEAD LYING IN STATE.¹

ests of peace and mutual conciliation. As the clergy in the Middle Ages strove by the institution of the Truce of God to put some bridle upon the violent passions of men, so the Amphiktyons imposed upon wars between the members of the confederation certain limits and certain modifications. It was forbidden to an army

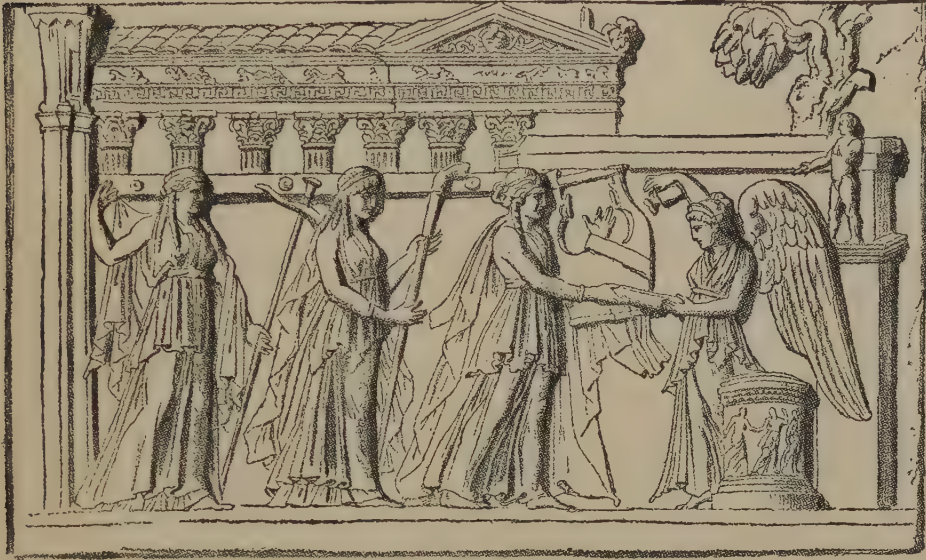
¹ Fragment of a very archaic vase, discovered at Athens in the Dipylon (from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. ix. pl. xxxix.-xl. Cf. *Annali*, 1872, pp. 131 *et seq.*, G. Hirschfeld). For the explanation of the lying in state (*próthesis*) and the funeral lamentation, see above, Vol. I. p. 306, notes. This fragment, and that represented on the opposite page, belong to vases of a very remarkable type, of which no specimen has yet been represented here. They are vases of colossal size, decorated with geometric ornaments and human figures distributed in long belts.

The funeral procession (*ékphorá*) on p. 313 is particularly interesting. The dead man lies upon a cart drawn by horses. Accompanying it are human figures rudely delineated, — the men recognizable by their spears, with which they seem to be transfixed, the women with hands lifted to their heads as if tearing their hair. Cf. Vol. I. p. 388, note 4.



SCENE OF INTERMENT: FUNERAL PROCESSION.

besieging an amphiktyonic city to cut the aqueducts or turn aside the streams which brought it water; a city being taken, the victors were forbidden to destroy it; during a war, truce must be granted, when necessary, to bury the dead, for only the sacrilegious might be left without burial; after the victory no durable



APOLLO, ARTEMIS, AND LETO.¹

monument might be raised, that animosities should not be lasting, except where trophies like those of Salamis and Marathon were in honor of a victory over Barbarians; respect must be shown to those who took shelter in temples; lastly, there must be entire liberty for all to attend the games, to consult the oracles, to visit the common temple and offer sacrifice there. Apollo refused to reply to any, whether State or private person, who consulted his oracle as to means for doing injury to any Hellenes. Such among the Greek States was the law of nations: the Amphiktyons were its guardians, and later Plato expounds it in the fifth book of his *Republic*.

¹ Delphic bas-relief in the Louvre (Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique*, No. 12). Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, moving towards the right, where stands an archaic statue of Apollo on a pilaster. The god is playing on the kithara, and with the right hand presents a *phiale* to the goddess of victory, who, advancing on tiptoe, is about to pour out to him from her *oinochoe* the wine of libation. In the background, behind a wall, appears the temple of Delphi. At the right an old tree represents the sacred plane-tree which was planted by Agamemnon. This bas-relief is one of a series, in which Apollo appears as the patron of music, and it is generally agreed that these sculptures were consecrated to him as *ex-votos* by victorious artists.

These regulations were accompanied by anathemas:—

“If any man or city or nation commit a crime, let the offenders be devoted to Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Athene Pronaia. May the earth bear no fruit for them; may their wives bring forth monsters; may their flocks fail of increase; may they be unfortunate in war and in all that they undertake; may they perish miserably, they and all their race; may their sacrifices, illegally offered, to the Pythian Apollo, to Artemis, to Leto, and to Athene Pronaia, be always rejected by these divinities.”

These imprecations being uttered, the Amphiktyon took an oath to employ his voice, his feet, his hands in denouncing, pursuing, and smiting the guilty. Woe then to the man who violated the amphiktyonic rules! For his punishment the tribunal suspended its own laws of clemency. In the First Sacred War, at the siege of Kirrha, the Amphiktyons, by Solon's advice, turned away the canal that supplied the city with water, and then sent it back again poisoned with hellebore. When, after ten years, Kirrha was taken (595), they razed it to the ground



BRONZE COIN.¹



LETO.²

and forbade with imprecations that its territory should ever again be cultivated. All Greece was held to be under obligation to answer the first appeal made by the Amphiktyons, and to lend aid to the execution of their decrees. Kleisthenes of Sikyon, who assisted them with vigor at Kirrha, received from them in return efficient support in his projects against the liberties of his native city.

What then was the crime of Kirrha? The city had offended the Delphic Apollo by levying heavy tolls upon the pilgrims who came to sacrifice at his altars. The protection of the temple, of its territory, and of those who brought offerings to it, was in fact committed to the Amphiktyons. Certain *theoroi*³ from the Peloponnesos, traversing the country of Megara on their way to

¹ The *omphalos* of the temple of Delphi, placed on rocks and surrounded by a serpent. Legend: ΔΕΛΦΩΝ. (Bronze coin of Delphi, with the effigy of the Emperor Hadrian.)

² Leto, under a tetrastyle temple, about to flee with her two children, one held in each hand (cf. p. 322). Legend: ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tripolis in Karia; on the obverse is represented a woman's head, veiled, with the legend: ΙΕΡΑ ΒΟΥΛΗ.

³ *Theoria* were deputations sent by cities for religious purposes, and *theoroi* the persons composing these deputations.

Delphi, had been attacked by the people of the country and thrown into a marsh, where several of them had perished. The Amphiktyonic Council required the execution of the principal offenders and the banishment of the others. When the temple of Delphi was burned in 548 B.C. the Amphiktyons employed the Alkmaionids to reconstruct it. They had charge of the treasures of the god, and lent his money on interest to cities or to private



A GREEK CHARIOT.¹

individuals.² They had, necessarily, influence over the oracle; frequently disputes as to other temples were submitted to them. Thus they decided between Athens and Delos on the question of precedence in the sanctuary of Apollo; and the Samians, to retain under the Romans the right of asylum in the temple of Here, urged a decree of the Amphiktyons. After the victory of Plataia they compelled Sparta to efface the proud and lying inscription she had engraved upon an offering.

Why, notwithstanding these prerogatives, was the influence of this Council so limited? It is because any central authority, dealing with other than religious affairs, was so greatly dreaded by

¹ Vase-painting (from Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pl. ccxvii.). The chariot is drawn by two horses, and the driver, whip in hand, sits at one side. In regard to the shape of the wheels, see Vol. I. p. 389.

² All the more famous Greek temples were banks of deposit; gold, and precious or important objects, contracts, and even wills, were kept in them under the protection of the divinity. They were also banks of loan, making the best possible use of the sacred funds.

the Greek States; and also because, in consequence of the ancient distribution of votes, Sparta and Athens, finding themselves in this assembly nothing more than the equals of little tribes from the neighborhood of the Pindos, had no love for an institution which reduced them to such a level. At one time this institution came very near being re-organized, when Sparta, after Plataia, proposed to exclude from the league those States which had not fought against the Persians. Themistokles had the wisdom to cause this measure to be rejected, for it would have made the Amphiktyonic Council, placed in the hands of Sparta and raised by her to great importance, a powerful means of domination.

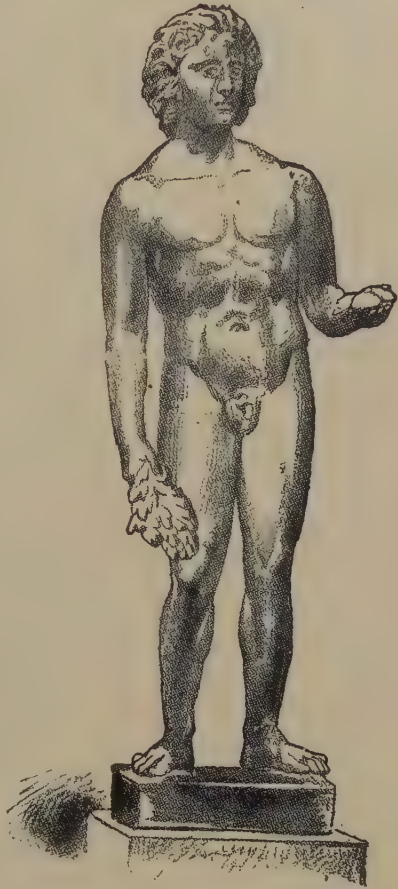
During the Median wars and in the eighty years that the preponderance of Athens and Sparta lasted, the assembly at Delphi remained inactive and obscure. After the battle of Leuktra, when the superiority passed to a city in the north of Greece, the Amphiktyonic Council made an attempt to act. Thebes found its assistance useful, and obtained from it a decree against the Spartans. At this time it began to be made by degrees a political instrument, of which, later, Philip was able to make good use.

II. — ORACLES AND FESTIVALS.

OTHER institutions, which tended less manifestly to maintain the unity of the Hellenic race, did in fact contribute to it more, — I refer to the oracles, festivals, and public games. It was useless to offer to the Greeks those federative ties tolerable only to docile and disciplined peoples. But let the reputation of an oracle increase, let a splendid temple be built, let the pomp of religious ceremonies be displayed, and games and festivals, poetic contests and wrestling matches, be announced, then these Greeks — credulous, inquisitive, lovers of art, of display, and of fame, caught by the allurements of their tastes and of their pleasures — were ready to leave the little cities they loved so dearly and gather in crowds, sitting side by side with the very men who were their enemies yesterday, and will be so again to-morrow, but who now appear to them for the moment in no other light than as members of the common family.

" In early times, when the phenomena of Nature made a great impression upon the minds of men, the science of reading the future in the entrails of animals offered in sacrifice, of interpreting dreams, the flight of birds, and the fall of thunderbolts, made part of religion and of the government of the State: Teiresias and Chalkas in those days had great credit at court. As knowledge increased in the community at large, men began to be more concerned with the affairs of earth than with those of heaven. It is an historic law that the supernatural loses as reason gains.

Perikles and Epameinondas, Thucydides and Lysandros, Euripides and Aristophanes, conscious of their own intellectual strength, had much more confidence in their own reason than in the dark sayings of priest or diviner; but for the multitude, faith in divination was still so great that Plutarch mentions it among the things of which universal consent proves the truth; and Plato says:¹ "The gods have given the power of divination to man to supply his lack of intelligence." Accordingly, it was not to the most cultivated minds that belonged the privilege of lifting the veil of the future. The manifestation of the divine will was only the more conspicuous the more imperfect was the instrument. The blind man, the fool, became to the multitude infal-

BRONZE STATUETTE.²

¹ *Timaios*, 47.

² Statuette of the former Gréau Collection, now in the Louvre (cf. *Gazette archéol.*, 1880, pl. xxxiv. and p. 203, article by F. Lenormant). A youth, naked, standing, holds in the lowered right hand "the branch of Apollonian laurel which was used in the lustral aspersion; the left, extended, holds . . . the liver of a very young animal, a lamb or kid." In this figurine, which archæologists consider an idealized representation of Alexander, Lenormant recognized an hepatoscope diviner of the heroic age. This bronze was brought from Egypt.

lible prophets who must be seriously taken into the account by the wisdom of the statesman and the experience of the military commander. Fountains whose water deranged the functions of body or of mind, grottos whence escaped gas producing delirium



PHINEUS INVOKING THE GODS.¹

or hallucinations, were regarded as places where the divinity was always present. The fountain of Kastalia, near the seat of the Pythia, was the holy water² wherewith those who came to consult the oracle must purify themselves.

With the exception of the prophetic oaks of Dodona in Epeiros, whose priestesses interrogated the sounds of the winds and storms.³

¹ Painting on a vase in the British Museum (from Conze, *Vorlegeblätter für archäologische Uebungen*, series C, pl. viii., 1 a). The blind prophet Phineus, standing, holds out his hands invoking the gods (χείρας ἀνασχών); the first word of his invocation, ΘΕΟΙ, is inscribed near his lips. Before him is a table covered with viands; according to the legend, every time the prophet sat down to eat, the Harpies came and carried off or defiled the food. Phineus was king of Thrace, and is accordingly represented with a fillet around his head and a sceptre behind him. (Cf. A. Flasch, *Phineus auf Vasenbildern*, in the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1880, pp. 138 *et seq.*)

² Before this spring is now a chapel consecrated to Saint John.

³ The three priestesses of Dodona read the future in the whisper of the leaves and the creaking of the branches, in the bubbling of a spring at the foot of the prophetic oak, and

there were in Greece no oracles more famous than those of the cave of Trophonios in Boiotia,¹ and of the temple of Delphi in Phokis,



ODYSSEUS AND THE SHADE OF TEIRESIAS.²

both arising from the same cause,—a gaseous vapor, inhaled in the latter by the priestess, in the former by the applicant. Plutarch, and

in sounds emitted by brazen vases hung near the temple. Here also it was usual to draw lots from an urn.

¹ The river in the foreground of the engraving (p. 323) is the Herkyna, in which those who came to consult the oracle were required to bathe. In the background rises Mount Laphystion; at the right is a precipitous rock, crowned by a Frankish citadel. A little above the bridge are two brooks, recognized as the springs Lethe and Mnemosyne; at the foot of the rock is still to be seen a chamber surrounded with niches destined to receive ex-votos. This was the site of the sanctuary of the Good Deity and Good Fortune. Pausanias, who consulted the oracle, describes the method of procedure.

² Painting on an amphora from Nola (in the Collection de Luynes, of the *Cabinet de France*). The artist has painted one of those scenes of the calling up of the dead (*Nékua*) in the *Odyssey* (book xi.). Odysseus is seated on a heap of stones, and leans over a trench which he has himself dug; he has poured libations to all the dead, first with mixed honey, then with sweet wine, a third time with water, and has sprinkled white meal over it. He has killed a sheep and a ram, the heads of which are at his feet. Immediately a great crowd of the dead come forth from Hades, "wandering about the trench on both sides with a divine clamor;" but the hero draws his sword and drives them away from the blood which they are eager to drink, although among them are his comrade-in-arms, Elpenor, and even his own

especially Pausanias,¹ have left us a narrative of the strange scenes witnessed in the sanctuary of Trophonios.

“When any one desires to descend to the cave of Trophonios he must first remain for several days in the temple of the Good Deity and Good Fortune. While staying here, he purifies himself in all respects, abstains from



LETO AND THE PYTHON.²

warm baths, and bathes in the River Herkyna, and has plenty of animal food from the various victims; for he must sacrifice to Trophonios and the sons of Trophonios, and also to Apollo and Kronos, and to Zeus the king, and to Here the chariot-driver, and to Demeter, who is called Europa, and is said to have been the nurse of Trophonios. . . . The person who wishes to consult the oracle is brought by night to the River Herkyna and anointed with oil, and two lads, called *hermai*, wash him and minister to him in all respects. The priests do not after that lead him immediately to the oracle,

mother, Antikleia. Finally appears Teiresias, holding a golden sceptre. This is the moment which the painter represents. Behind Odysseus stands one of his companions. The same scene was painted by Polygnotos in the vestibule of the temple of Delphi (Pausanias, x. 29, 8).

¹ Plutarch, *Concerning the Daimon of Sokrates*, 21; Pausanias, ix. 39, 4.

² Vase-painting (from Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des Monum. céramog.*, vol. ii. pl. 1). The serpent Python, emerging from a rocky cavern, rears itself up to attack Leto, who flees affrighted. The goddess holds in her arms Apollo and Artemis, and the charming carelessness of the children, who stretch out their arms to the monster, is in pleasing contrast with the mother's alarm. This subject was often represented in antiquity. Cf. the coin of Tripolis, p. 316, and, later, a marble statuette from the Gallery Torlonia. (See T. Schreiber, *Apollon Pythoktonos*, ch. vii. pp. 74 *et seq.*)



THE CAVE OF TROPHONIOS AT LEBADEIA. (FROM STACKELBERG.)

but to the sources of the river, which are very near each other. And here he must drink of the water called Lethe, that he may forget all his former thoughts, and afterwards he must drink of the water of Memory, and then he will remember what he sees on his descent. And when he has beheld the statue which is said to have been made by Daidalos, and is never shown by the priests to any but those who are going to descend to Trophonios, he goes to the oracle clad in a linen tunic bound with fillets, and having on his feet the shoes of the country.

“The oracle is above the grove, on the mountain. And there is round it a circular wall of stone, the circumference of which is very small, and the height rather less than three feet; and there are brazen pillars, and girders that connect them, and between them are doors. And inside is a cavity in the earth not natural, but artificial, and built with great skill. The shape of this cavity resembles an oven; the breadth of it is about six feet, and the depth not more than twelve. There are no steps to the bottom, but when any one descends to Trophonios he is furnished with a light, narrow ladder. From the cavity is an opening two spans broad and one high. He that descends lies flat in the bottom of the cavity and having in his hands cakes kneaded with honey, introduces into the opening his feet, and then his knees; and then all his body is drawn in, as a great and rapid river draws any one into its vortex.

“When within the sanctuary, the future is not always made known in the same way, but some obtain the knowledge by their ears, others by their eyes; and they return by the place where they entered, feet foremost. These priests say that none who descended ever died there, except one of the body-guard of Demetrios, who would perform none of the accustomed ceremonies, and who descended, not to consult the oracle, but in the hope of abstracting some of the gold and silver of the sanctuary.

“And on emerging from the cavity of Trophonios the priests place the person who has consulted the oracle on the Seat of Memory, not far from the sanctuary; and when he is seated there, they ask him what he has seen or heard; and when they have been informed, they hand him over to the proper persons, who bring him back to the temple of Good Fortune and the Good Deity, still in a state of terror, and hardly knowing where he is. Afterwards, however, he will think no more of it, and even laugh. I write no mere hearsay, but from what I have seen happen to others, and having myself consulted the oracle of Trophonios.”¹

The cave was intended to remind the devout of that in which Apollo slew the Python; the honey-cakes in each hand were, according to the priests, to protect against the bites of serpents with which

¹ Pausanias, ix. 39.

they declared that the cave was filled. But this manifestly was to hinder the applicant from touching the springs by which the descent was managed. Undoubtedly the priests had detected the intention of the soldier to penetrate this mystery, and they had accordingly killed him. In many cases the impression produced by this nocturnal adventure, with the effect of powerful narcotics, was so serious that it was never quite dispelled; and an ancient saying, as to a person afflicted with incurable melancholy, was: "He has been in the cave of Trophonios."

Apollo was less terrible. With this god of light, who declared the will of Zeus, sovereign master of mortals and immortals, all was done



DENARIUS.¹

in broad day; the priestess alone suffered from the presence of the divinity. The authority of his oracle extended beyond the limits of the Hellenic world as far as Lydia in the east, and to the Etruscans and Rome in the west, where

the books of the Apollonian sibyl of Cumæ were so highly honored. Cicero called it the oracle of the earth, and Delphi was indeed the centre of the Hellenic religion, from the crowd of pilgrims that visited it and the importance of the subjects brought before the god, who seemed to be present in this place more truly than in any of his other sanctuaries.²

In order that the divine action should appear more manifest, the responses of Apollo were given originally by a simple and ignorant young girl, usually a sufferer from one of those nervous affections which seem common in certain regions of Greece;³ later by a woman at least over fifty years of age; and in the end, as one Pythia was not enough in the immense crowd of pilgrims who came to consult the oracle, there were three. These wretched beings were dragged in a feeble and suffering condition

¹ Head of the Cumæan sybil, wearing a diadem; underneath, her name SIBYLLA. Reverse: a tripod, surmounted by a *præfericulum*, or vase for sacrifices, and two stars. Legend: L. TORQVATVS III VIR; a collar (*torquis*) surrounding the whole. (Silver denarius of the Roman republic, coined by the triumvir L. Manlius Torquatus.)

² The temples where Apollo uttered oracles were numerous. The most famous, after Delphi, were those of Patara in Lykia, of Klaros near Kolophon, and of Didymos near Miletos, which Diocletian consulted as late as 303 A. D. The order in which the applicants presented themselves before the Pythia was determined by lot (Aischylos, *Eumen.*, *initio*).

³ Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, iv. 213.

to an opening in the ground whence vapors were escaping.¹ There, seated on tripods, where they were held by force, they received the prophetic exhalations. They were seen to grow pale, and tremble with convulsive movements. At first their utterances



APOLLO UPON HIS TRIPOD.²

were only groans and sighs; soon their eyes flashed, their hair bristled, and amid shrieks of pain they gave forth incoherent, disconnected words, which were carefully written down, and in which the priest whose duty it was to give a rhythmic form to the response, himself perhaps a dupe, discovered the revelation of the future therein hidden by the divinity. So great was the

¹ There is no longer any trace of the exhalation of vapors at Delphi; but the whole country is subject to earthquakes, and these phenomena are frequently accompanied by the escape of gases. What one natural convulsion caused, another may have ended. The better to prepare the Pythia for her delirium, she was kept fasting, — a condition which is favorable to hallucinations, — and was made to chew laurel-leaves because of their narcotic virtue. In the temple of Demeter at Patras the worshipper underwent fumigations with narcotic plants, — the *Datura stramonium*, belladonna, mandragora, the poppy, etc. Cf. Maury, ii. 494.

² Vase-painting (from the *Élite des Monum. céramog.*, vol. ii. pl. 46). Apollo, crowned with laurel, is seated upon his tripod; in the left hand he holds his bow; in the right a *phiale*. The Pythia stands behind him, an *oinochoe* in her hand. In the young girl in front of the god we may recognize Kreousa, beloved by Apollo, or Manto, the daughter of Teiresias, who also had the prophetic gift.

crowd of pilgrims that it was easy for the priests to gain information as to the affairs of States, and even of individuals. What they had thus learned enabled them to give to the inarticulate sounds made by the Pythia a signification which was accepted by hope or fear, and often brought to pass by faith; for this faith of the Greeks was not inert, like Oriental fatalism, and a man is



ENGRAVED STONE.¹

very near success when he has a conviction that the gods are with him. The priests were also frequently the accomplices — voluntary or from selfish motives — of the rulers of States. Demosthenes accused the Pythia of *philippizing*; but much more frequently she *hellenized*. In times of great danger to Greece the responses were always patriotic, even when ambiguous, and more suited to bring hope than despair to the minds of the Greeks. At Olympia it was not permitted to the diviners to utter a prophecy discouraging to the Hellenes.

The oracles, moreover, were in general the guardians of individual morality. Glaukos wishes to keep a treasure which has been intrusted to his care, but before doing so he consults the oracle, and is shown the woes reserved for the perjurer. The people of Sybaris put to death a flute-player who has taken shelter at an altar; the Pythia makes known to them the vengeance of the gods, which hangs over them and will destroy their city. A man basely abandons his comrade to the attack of murderers, and she will not answer him at all. Being asked, "Who is the happiest of men?" she replies, "Phaidios, who has died for his country." To Gyges, master of a great kingdom, she prefers a poor old man peacefully cultivating his farm in Arkadia. She even censures cities and men for their vanity. Anacharsis claims to be the wisest of the human race, and Megara the first of Greek cities. The oracle, in replying to them, attributes the highest wisdom to an obscure mountaineer of Oite, and assigns

¹ Apollo and the Pythia. Engraved stone in the Museum of Berlin (from Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, vol. ii. pl. xii. No. 134 c). Apollo, seated on an altar wreathed with laurel, holds his lyre in the left hand. Standing near him is the Pythia, who leans upon a staff.

to Megara only the tenth rank in Hellas. On the pediment of the temple is engraved in letters of gold these words, the source of all morals, Γνῶθι σεαυτόν, and this, Μηδὲν ἄγαν.¹ In all things a due measure, — moderation in one's desires, the equilibrium of faculties, the life of the soul well ordered. The god of Delphi, enlightening the mind as well as the world, deserves



VASE-PAINTING.²

indeed to become, in pagan theology, the universal god, the *deus certus* of Aurelian, the Divine Being worshipped by Julian. But in thus interposing in human affairs the god, however obscure his responses might usually be, was in danger of compromising his authority when the event proved manifestly in contradiction to what the oracle had foretold; and in revealing the future he presented also the temptation to employ all means to avert

¹ "Know thyself," and "Not too much of anything" (Pausanias, x. 24). Hesiod at an earlier day says (*Works and Days*, i. 40): "They do not understand that often half is better than the whole."

² The Erinyes pursuing a suppliant who has taken refuge at an altar. Vase-painting (from Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, vol. ii. pl. xiii. No. 148). Orestes, kneeling on the base of the *omphalos*, near which are the sacred laurel and tripod, defends himself, sword in hand, from two Erinyes armed, — one with a torch, the other with a serpent. Apollo, standing behind the tripod and holding a laurel-branch in his left hand, extends the right over the suppliant who has claimed his protection. (See Overbeck, *Bildwerke zum Thebischen und Troischen Heldenkreis*, p. 710, No. 51.)

the peril or secure the advantage. Hence sometimes the commission of crimes, as is shown in the legends of Oidipous, Orestes, and Kypselos.

We may remark, however, that the oracles take for granted a belief in the direct intervention of the gods in human affairs; that is to say, the action of Providence as opposed to fatalism. The ancient Greeks believed that by prayer and sacrifice they gained the protection of the immortals, and that the Erinyes were always at hand to punish human crimes. With this twofold conviction morals were safe. It was the Stoics who established fatalism as a philosophic doctrine, and by a fortunate contradiction Stoicism became at last a great school of morality, as was Calvinism, notwithstanding its theory of predestination, and Jansenism, notwithstanding its doctrine of grace. The human heart often corrects the errors of logic.

The Greeks loved their oracles. An inquisitive and impatient people, they wished to know everything, even the future. The enigmatic utterance pleased them; it tried the subtlety of their minds; they loved also the pomp and splendor of festivals, so brilliant under their radiant sky, and they marked by religious festivities the great phases of their national existence as the phenomena of the physical and moral life which seemed to them a benefit, a counsel, or a menace from the gods.

Plato found a social motive for these solemnities besides the religious reason. "The gods," he says, "touched with compassion for the human race, which Nature condemns to labor, have provided for intervals of repose in the regular succession of festivals instituted in their own honor."¹ The Greeks so fully appreciated this reason that they increased these intervals until the time of repose nearly equalled that of labor. More than eighty days in the year were occupied at Athens with shows and festivals.

These games and shows were not the useless relaxation of an idle crowd like the Roman populace under the Cæsars; they were a part of the national religion and ritual;² they were a great

¹ *Laws*, ii. 1.

² Sometimes, even, of diplomacy. Teos, sending a deputation to Knossos, placed among the ambassadors a skilful musician, who played to them melodies of the old poets; and to another Kretan city sent a compilation of all the texts in verse and prose which concerned

school of patriotism and art, and even of morals. "The Muses," says Plato, "and Apollo, their leader, preside at them, and celebrate them with us." The guilty man was banished from them; but the poor, and even the slave, had his share in the national holidays. At the great Athenian Dionysia the chains of the prisoners fell off, that they also might celebrate the joyous festival of the divinity who drives away dull care and makes the mind as free as the speech. While this festival lasted, the slave had no master, the captive no jailers. In Krete, on the day of the Hermaia, slaves were served at table by their masters.

Every city has its own special festivals, and on such occasions seats were reserved for the inhabitants of an allied city, a colony, or the metropolis. As soon as the service of the god began, public affairs were suspended, the tribunals adjourned, payments were postponed, and the punishment of debtors or of criminals, and even, at Sparta, decisions, however important to the safety of the State. Men would not try to serve two masters, — the public, and the divinity. Demosthenes quotes an Athenian law which punished the violation of holiday repose,¹ and recognized as crimes against the State offences committed against those who, having official duties in these festivals, wore "the wreath in token of public authority."²

As in Europe in the Middle Ages, corporations, trades, even each age and sex, had their own patrons and their festivals. Thus at Athens, sailors, smiths, and doubtless many others; at Sparta, nurses; in many cities, slaves. Young men, young girls, married women, had their particular forms of devotion, and families had their saints, whom we call heroes or daimons, while at the same time all classes performed at the altars of the common gods the ordinary rites on occasions of birth, marriage, and death.

And again, as in the Middle Ages, the priests, to amuse the worshippers for a few minutes, on certain days opened the churches for festivals not very edifying. Delos had its burlesque rites. His prayers being ended, the pilgrim must run round the great altar of

the history and poetic antiquities of Krete (*Corp. inscr. Graec.*, Nos. 3,035 and 3,057). How artistic and poetic was this people!

¹ *Against Timokrates*, 29.

² This is the foundation of the argument of Demosthenes, *Against Midias*. The wreath was of myrtle for magistrates and official orators in the exercise of their functions. During the festivals the *choregos* sometimes adorned himself with a crown of gold. (*Ibid.*)

Apollo, scourged by the priests as he ran, and bite the trunk of the olive-tree, his hands tied behind his back, "which the Delian nymph invented," says Kallimachos, "as sports and food for laughter to the young Apollo."¹

I will speak of but three of these festivals,—one, in which appeared the shameful orgiastic side of ancient naturalism; another, characterized by the utmost magnificence of religious ceremonies; a third, embodying those moral ideas so rarely contained in a pagan cult. These are the festivals of Dionysos, the great Panathenaia, and the Thesmophoria.

The early festival of Dionysos was exceedingly simple, Plutarch tells us,—a rustic procession carrying a vine-wreathed jar of wine and a basket of figs. Dionysos presided over agricultural labors, and these, in a country which had but little grain, were chiefly the work of the vine-dresser. Accordingly, he was especially the god of the grape, and at every stage in the growth of the grape and of the wine-making there were Dionysia. There was a procession and games at the approach of the vintage-time. Young men, clad in the long Ionian robe, carried vine-branches with their clusters of grapes, and branches of the olive-tree with its fruits also just at maturity. And they sang: "O divine branches, from your twigs flow honey, oil, and the pure nectar which fills the cup that gives men sleep!" This festival ended with a running-match, and the reward of the victor was a brimming wine-jar.

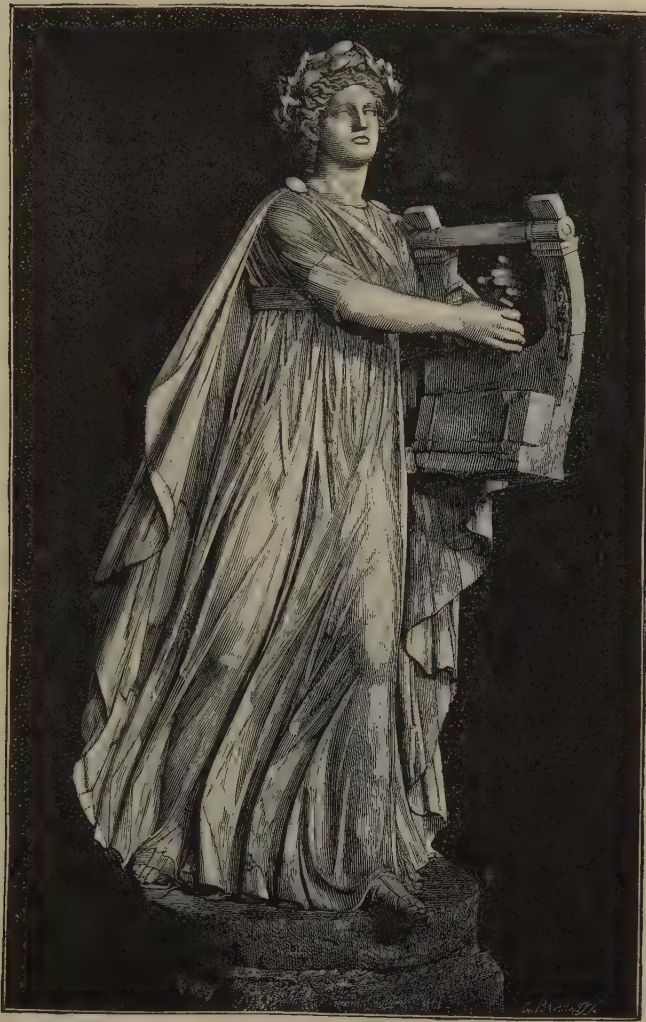
¹ *Hymn to Delos*, 300.

NOTE. — Opposite is represented a painting on a vase found at Kertsch (Pantikapaia); from the *Comptes rendus de la Com. archéol. de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 1861, pl. iv. Upon a beautiful vase, found at Kertsch, the artist depicts the return of Apollo to Delphi (*ἐπιδημία*) and his meeting with Dionysos. The god during the winter was accustomed to leave his sanctuaries of Delphi and Delos, and visit the warm country of the Hyperboreans (see Vol. I. p. 159). The summits of Parnassos and the cave of Korykos then resounded with cries of bacchantes and satyrs, the merry companions of Dionysos. The return of spring brought back the god of light to his favorite temples, to the Delphic *omphalos* and tripod, and the palm-tree of Delos. At Delphi, Dionysos was wont to meet him, and renew with the radiant divinity the treaty of friendship and alliance which bound them to each other. On the vase of Kertsch, Dionysos, in holiday attire, the ivy-wreath on his head, the thyrsos in his hand, extends his right hand to the Delphic god; the latter, clad in the *himation*, which leaves a part of his body uncovered, young and calm, grasps the hand of Dionysos. He wears a laurel-wreath, and holds a branch of laurel in the left-hand. The *omphalos* in the centre and the tripod at the left serve to indicate the scene, and the palm-tree in the background is by way of allusion to the sanctuary at Delos, which will soon see its master return. Bacchantes and satyrs share in the joy of their divinity; all are crowned with laurel; one plays the kithara, another the double flute, another strikes her *tympanon*. On the left a bacchante places a cushion on the seat destined for Apollo.



APOLLO AND DIONYSOS.

There was another festival when the vintage was put into the press. There were first libations of sweet wine and the most sump-



APOLLO MOUSAGETES.¹

tuous banquet possible, always remembering to honor the god by making liberal use of his gifts; and afterwards a solemn procession.

¹ Statue in the Vatican, discovered, with the Nine Muses, in the villa of Cassius at Tivoli (from a photograph). This is perhaps a copy of a celebrated work of Skopas which Augustus brought from Greece to the Palatine,—a work which the Roman poets vied with each other in praising (Propertius, iii. 29, 15; Tibullus, iii. 4, 23-40; Ovid, *Amores*, i. 8, 59; *Metam.*, xi. 155). "The god, crowned with laurel, sings, accompanying himself on the kithara, his head thrown back a little, his eyes raised, the whole figure animated with a slight dancing motion.

Half-intoxicated, they climbed into the wagons which had been at first loaded with grapes, their heads hidden under vine-branches, ivy,



RELIEF FROM A LAMP IN TERRA-COTTA.¹

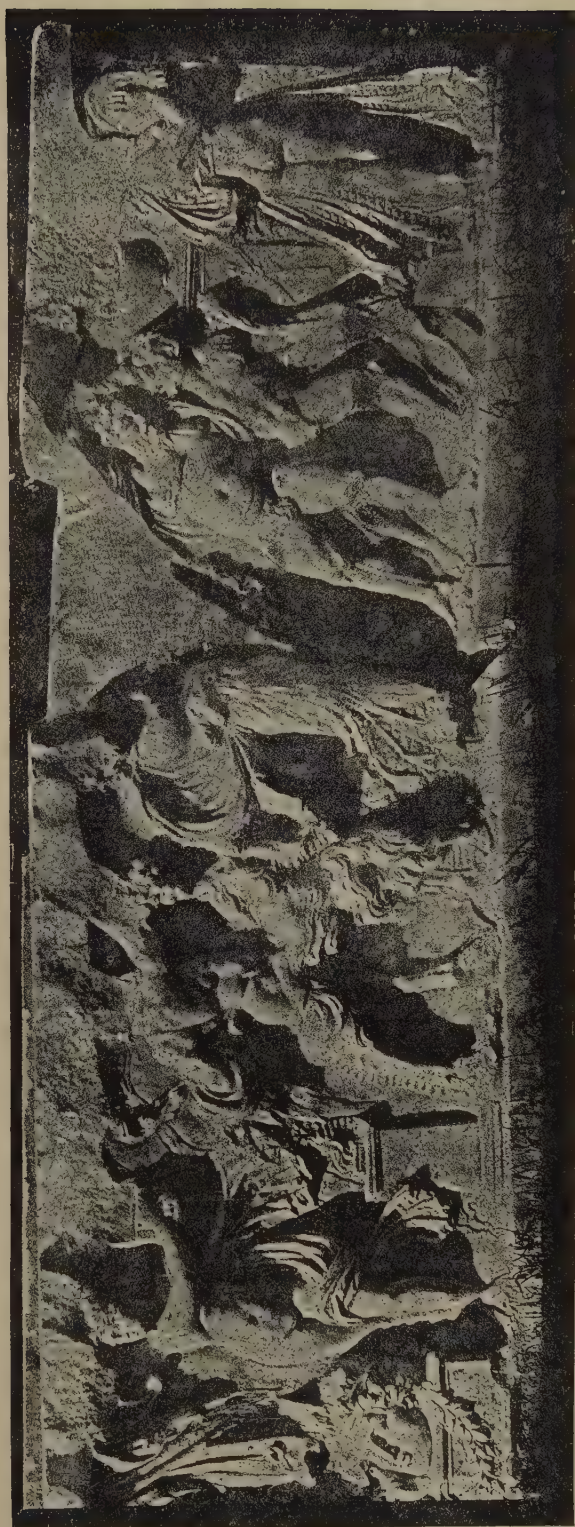
and leaves of different plants, and wearing skins of beasts and grotesque garments; and thus went through the village, uttering all kinds of jests and scurrilous abuse, as was formerly done in the carnivals of Southern Europe. Women specially devoted to this divinity of fruitfulness, and bearing his name, bacchantes or mænads, formed a group by themselves, carrying the thyrsos,—a pole ending with a bunch of vine or ivy-leaves, and frequently adorned with

a white fillet. At certain places stagings were erected. The procession stopped; one of the revellers ascended a platform and recited a dithyramb celebrating the adventures of the god of wine and joy. Choruses replied from below, and Pans and satyrs danced about the platform. Silenos, mounted on his ass, jeered at the crowd, and a goat, led in the procession, was afterwards sacrificed on the altar of the god.²

with every sign clearly but discreetly expressed, of the inspiration descending upon him, and the enthusiasm which possesses him" (Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, p. 128). On one side of the lute is represented in relief the satyr Marsyas; he is bound to a tree, naked, and about to undergo his punishment. (See p. 191.)

¹ Satyrs rearing a rustic image of Dionysos. Relief from a terra-cotta lamp from Bartoli and Bellori, *Veterum Lucernae sepulchrales*, pt. ii. fig. xxviii. (in the *Thesaurus Graecarum antiquitatum* of Gronovius, vol. xii.)

² A Dionysiac scene is represented on a sarcophagus discovered near Rome, on the Via Salaria, in the sepulchral chamber of the Licinii Crassi, where six other sarcophagi have also been found. (Cf. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, 1885, pp. 42, 43.) It is given on the opposite page, from a photograph. There is a cast of this relief in the École des Beaux-Arts. The artist represents satyrs and mænads dancing to the sounds of the *tympanon*. At the left is a satyr with a panther, which he is causing to bite the floating garment of the mænad; she is dancing, her head thrown back, leaning upon her thyrsos, and holding the *tympanon* in her left hand. Next is the magic *kiste*, or basket, whence emerges a serpent. (This *kiste* we shall find later represented on a bas-relief.) Between the *kiste* and the altar, on which are two Dionysiac masks, a satyr is dancing; in the right hand he holds a crook, over his left shoulder is thrown his garment and a panther's skin; at his feet is the syrinx.



DIONYSIAC SCENE.

From these burlesque masquerades, these scurrilous dialogues, these pious and vinous songs, emerged Tragedy and Comedy.¹ Thespis and Phrynichos limited the dithyramb to a single speaker, and added recitations to the song; Aischylos introduced action performed by several persons. And so the dramatic art was born, of which Aischylos was the father.

The Anthesteria, or feast of flowers, which lasted three days, occurred in the spring, when the wine of the preceding year was tasted for the first time. A libation was poured to the gods, and neighbors, laborers, and even slaves were welcome to drink as much as they could.³ At Athens a public festival was held, over which the king-archon presided; and this magistrate's wife had an important rôle in the ceremony. Personifying the city and the mystic spouse of Dionysos, she was seated in a chariot at the side of an ancient image of the god, and drove to the temple of Limnai. Other women, representing Nymphs, Hours, and Bacchantes, formed the nuptial procession; and at the temple was celebrated the mystic union, the *ιερός γάμος* of Dionysos and Athens.⁴

These were joyful occasions; there were, however, Dionysia which commemorated only grief and regret. These took place by night, in the winter solstice, when the vine, withered and apparently dead, represented the god as absent or powerless. Women alone — mænads or Furies — performed these savage rites on

BRONZE MEDALLION.²

Next is a mænad with scanty drapery, striking her *tympanon* above an altar on which a fire is burning. Then follow Pan and Silenos, the former with a crook in his left hand, and with his right holding a bunch of grapes which a goat is trying to reach; a mænad separates him from Silenos. The latter, overcome with intoxication, leans against a Satyr. A pilaster bearing a vase, and another mænad, end the scene on the right.

¹ *Κωμηδόν, through villages; τράγον ᾠδῇ, goat-song.*

² Dionysiac procession. Dionysos, holding a thyrsos ornamented with fillets, seated upon a chariot drawn by a panther and a goat. Eros is riding on the goat; beyond is a mænad playing the *tympanon*, and a satyr shaking castanets. The legend is: ΕΠΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΑΙΔΑ ΠΙΝΗΡΗΤΟΙΣ ΑΚΙΑΡ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ. Bronze medallion, with the effigy of Caracalla, struck at Laodikeia in Phrygia, *neokoros*, under the authority of the asiarch, Lucius Aelius Pigres.

³ Pseudo-Demosthenes, *Against Neaira*, 73.

⁴ On the subject of this festival see *Gazette archéol.* (1879), pp. 8 *et seq.*

the slopes of Parnassos and the summits of Taygetos, or in the plains of Macedon and Thrace. Among the Dorians these women preserved some regard for decorum; but in Boiotia, with dishev-



HERMES CARRYING THE INFANT DIONYSOS TO SILENOS.¹

elled hair and torn garments they ran through the woods, bearing torches and beating cymbals, with savage screams and violent gestures. A nervous excitement brought distraction to the senses and the mind, and showed itself in wild language and gestures.

¹ Krater of Vulci, in the Vatican (from a photograph. Cf. *Museo Etrusco Gregoriano*, vol. ii. pl. xxxvi. 1 a). Hermes, identified by his petasos, caduceus, and winged ankles, commits the infant Dionysos to Silenos; the latter is seated, holding a thyrsos in his left hand; two female figures, doubtless nymphs, complete the group. Cf. the celebrated vase of the Museum of Naples, signed by the Athenian Salpion: Hermes, followed by two satyrs and a manad, commits the young Dionysos to the nymphs (*Museo Borbonico*, vol. i. pl. xlix.).

and the coarsest excesses were an act of devotion. When the mænads danced madly through the woods, with serpents wreathed about their arms, a thyrsos or a dagger in their hands, with which they struck at those whom they met; when intoxication and the sight of blood drove the excited throng to frenzy, — it was the god acting in them, and consecrating them as his priestesses. Woe to the man who should come upon these Mysteries, he was torn in pieces; even animals were thus killed, and the mænads devoured their quivering flesh and drank their warm blood.¹

This orgiastic worship was never popular at Athens. The great festivals of that city were the Panathenaia, which lasted four days, in the third year of each Olympiad, from the 25th to the 28th of the month Hekatombaion (July–August).³ This was at once the festival of Athene and of all the Attic tribes, which gathered about her altar as one nation; this was also the festival of war and of agriculture, of all bodily excellencies and all mental endowments. In honor of the goddess who held the spear,

WIFE OF THE KING-ARCHON.²

¹ See the *Bacchantes* of Euripides.

² Vase-painting (from Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pl. ccxcix.). The vase is signed by the painter Epiktetos. This woman, clad in a long chiton and peplos, holding a pomegranate in the right hand and a sceptre in the left, Gerhard, with some hesitation, conjectures to be the wife of the king-archon. The pomegranate and sceptre perhaps refer to the mystic union (*ἱερός γάμος*).

³ This was the first month in the Athenian year. The lesser Panathenaia were celebrated annually.

but who also had created the olive-tree and taught mankind the arts, there was an armed dance, chariot-races, gymnastic contests, where the prize was a painted vase filled with oil from the sacred trees; the torch-race (*lampadephoria*), at first run on foot, later on



THE GAME OF THE ASKOLIASMOS.¹

horseback, for a distance of about half a mile; the recitation of the poems of Homer and other epic poets; and, lastly, adding a pure and holy emotion to all the other feelings which must have been caused by these noble ceremonies, the citizen who had deserved well of his country received a gold crown in the presence of assembled Greece. The time devoted to the preparation for the great Pana-

thenaia (*ἱερομηνία*), during which all civil labors were suspended, was a month and fifteen days.

The frieze of the Parthenon (The Maiden's Temple) still shows in sculptures, magnificent though mutilated, the *lampadephoria*, the chariot-race, and the procession carrying the peplos which covered the wooden statue of Athene Polias. This crocus-colored shawl, of delicate tissue, had been woven during the preceding year by young girls of the noblest Athenian families.

¹ This game (from *ἄσκολός*, *beyond*, and *λίξω*, *I cause to fall*), the third day's amusement in the Anthesteria, consisted in standing, walking, or leaping upon a skin filled with some liquid and smeared with oil. It was practised specially at the Dionysiac festivals, when the bag was filled with wine, which became the prize of the victor. The mosaic represented here (from the *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1847, pl. ix. 1, and p. 129) shows preparations for the sport, Dionysos and Ariadne presiding. Satyrs and nymphs surround the skin, upon which a naked youth is about to step.

NOTE.—On the opposite page is a representation of one side of Hiero's cup. (Cf. the other side, given in Vol. I. p. 381.) Six dishevelled mænads are dancing near the hermes of Dionysos. Three of them carry the thyrsos, and of the other two, one has castanets, and the other, a cup in hand, seems sinking with intoxication and excitement. The last of the group, at the right, extends her hand towards a large vase wreathed with ivy.



DANCING MÆNADS.

During the whole time that they were at work, these young girls, the ἐργαστῖναι, remained on the akropolis, in the Erechtheion, clad in white garments with gold-embroidered capes, and wealthy citizens vied with each other for the honor of supplying their table.

In a passage in his tragedy of *Ion*, Euripides¹ describes the interior decoration of the Parthenon, the "Chamber of the Maiden," as it has been called. A tapestry marvellous to behold extends under



THE PEPLOS AT THE FESTIVAL OF THE PANATHENAIA.¹

the partly opened roof, — the precious web representing Ouranos assembling the stars in the vault of heaven. The Sun is guiding his coursers towards the West, where the daylight still lingers, and the brilliant star Hesperos follows in his train. Night, clad in dark robes, urges her steeds forward, and the stars accompany her. The Pleiades advance across the sky with Orion, the sword-bearer; below them the Bear curls his shining tail round the golden pole. The moon, which divides the year into months, shines full-orbed in the sky; the Hyades, faithful to the mariner, announce the storm, and Eos, the messenger of dawn, drives before her the nocturnal

¹ Lines 1141–1165.

² Fragment of the eastern frieze of the Parthenon, in the British Museum, from a cast. According to Beulé (*L'Acropole d'Athènes*, ii. 142) the chief priestess, at the left, is receiving from the two maiden *arrhephoroi* mysterious objects which they have brought from the city by night. Next, one of the *praxiergidai*, aided by a boy, is folding up the peplos of the last three years, which he has taken from the statue. Lastly are two gods seated. The interpretation given by Michaëlis (*Der Parthenon*, 1871, pp. 255 *et seq.*) seems much more probable. The objects carried by the figures at the left are seats (*διφφοι*), rugs, while others bring cups and bowls. These persons are *diphrophoroi*, as those bringing vases are *kanephoroi*. It is not certain as to the name of the person folding the peplos.

stars.¹ On the walls of the temple were tapestries representing the Barbarians in strong galleys encountering Greek vessels of war; then monsters (half man, half beast), and hunting-scenes, — pursuit of



APPEARANCE OF EOS.²

lions and of deer. At the door Kekrops, with his daughters, writhes in tortuous folds. This was the offering of a citizen of Athens.³

On the great day of the Panathenaia, the magistrates, guardians of the laws and of the sacred rites, led the procession; then followed

¹ De Ronchaud, *La tapisserie dans l'antiquité*. The author believes that this was a permanent decoration; but it has been suggested that if this were the case, the *naos* would be completely dark, and that more probably the poet, in describing the sacrifice of Ion, refers only to a temporary decoration, as in churches at the present day. The book of De Ronchaud is most interesting, dealing with a decoration and an art to which little attention has heretofore been paid.

² Painting in the bottom of a cup (from Gerhard, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, viii. 3). Eos, sceptre in hand and standing in a car drawn by winged horses, emerges from the ocean. The moon and stars are still shining in the sky.

³ Kekrops was represented as half man, half serpent. See Vol. I. p. 172.

NOTE. — The engraving opposite is from the *Monum. dell' inst. arch.*, vol. x., pl. xlvii., xlviii, n.; *Annali*, 1877, p. 294; 1878, p. 276.



ARMED RACE.

Pl. *xlvi. g*, No. 9. Amphora from the Kyrenaïka, in the Louvre, dated from the archonship of Kephisodoros (323-322 B. C.). Three epheboi, naked, helmeted, with Argive shields, run to the right.



ATHLETES, PAIDOTRIBES, AND HERALD.

Pl. *xlvi. g*, No. 11. Amphora from the Kyrenaïka, in the Louvre; dated from the archonship of Theophrastos (313-312 B. C.). At the left two athletes, naked, a wreath on their heads and a palm-branch in their hands. A *paidotribes* and a herald with a trumpet.



RACE.

Pl. *xlvi. m*. Amphora of very ancient style, undated, in the Museum of Munich. Four men running to the right; above, the inscription: ΣΤΑΔΙΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΝΙΚΗ: victory of men in the races of the stadion.



PUGILISTIC CONTEST.

Pl. *xlvi. e*, No. 2. Amphora of Cære, in the British Museum; dated from the archonship of Pythodelos (336-335 B. C.). Two athletes contend: a winged Victory, holding a palm, at the right, and a pugilist with a strigil at the left.



WRESTLING-MATCH.

Pl. *xlvi. f*, No. 5. Amphora of Capua, in the British Museum; dated from the archonship of Niketes (332-331 B. C.). Two wrestlers engaged; on the left another athlete; on the right a *paidotribes*, who seems to desire to separate the wrestlers.

maidens carrying vases required for the sacrifices, and others bearing consecrated baskets, *kanephoroi*;¹ then, animals with gilded horns destined for sacrifice, and these were very numerous, for each colony of Athens sent an ox, that its people might have the right to join in the festival and banquet; then, musicians playing on the flute and on the lyre, and a group of handsome old men, carrying olive-branches; lastly, horsemen, chariots, and the great crowd of people carrying branches of myrtle. On that day even captives were set at liberty, that every person in the city might do honor to the maiden goddess, chaste and free.

The Thesmophoria, in honor of Demeter, were very different in their character. Here the idea of the exclusive State gave way to that of common humanity; instead of publicity there was mystery, and instead of a whole city sharing in the celebration, it was made limited and special. The Panathenaia were the festival of Athene and of Athens; the Thesmophoria that of domestic life, ruled by the sacred laws which the Great Goddesses had instituted in respect to agriculture and property in land. Among the ancients the complex idea of fertility was represented in many different ways. While Aphrodite by degrees came to be merely the personification of pleasure, and Dionysos of unrestrained orgies, Demeter was always the goddess of virtuous marriage, and the author of the earth's fertility in agriculture. Underlying her cult certainly was the idea of reproductive force, but always in accordance with natural and moral law; and her most characteristic surname was ἡ Θεσμοφόρος, or with Persephone, τῶ Θεσμοφόρῳ, the law-makers.

Festivals in honor of Demeter were celebrated in many countries, but nowhere with so much magnificence as at Athens. They occurred at the period of the autumnal sowing; only married women could take part in them,² after having prepared themselves for many days by fasting, abstinence, and purifications, — which gave a character of chastity and devotion to rites liable

¹ The *Metokoi* had their place in the festival and inferior duties; their daughters carried parasols over the *kanephoroi*, and they themselves bore jars of oil, — the prizes for the victors. The Panathenaic vases were of clay, but decorated with paintings. At a later period were added chariot-races in the hippodrome near Peiraieus, and regattas of the triremes.

² Every citizen of Athens having property of the value of three talents (about \$3,500) was required to furnish his wife with money enough to celebrate the Thesmophoria.

to degenerate into license. Some of the ceremonies were performed by night, and from these men were strictly excluded.

The torch-race at the Prometheia was a more simple ceremony, but of profound meaning. The torches were lighted at an altar of



DIONYSOS AND DEMETER THESMOPHOROS.¹

Prometheus, and the victory belonged to him who after a rapid race brought back his torch still blazing. This was done in remembrance of the Titan's gift of fire to man, which was the first step towards all arts, and must be kept forever burning. Another myth was also commemorated in this festival,—that, namely, which

¹ Vase-painting (from Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des Monum. céramog.*, vol. iii. pl. xl.). Demeter Thesmophoros, seated, facing to the right, holding a roll on which laws are inscribed. Before her stands Dionysos, with ivy-wreath and thyrsos; he carries in his right hand a *phiale*, and a string of beads crosses his breast, as worn by the initiated. Persephone looks in through a window at the young god. Behind Demeter is an altar, on which are grains of incense: in the field are branches of ivy.

attributed to the Titan (instead of Hephaistos) that stroke of the axe upon the head of Zeus by means of which Athene, or the enlightening Intelligence, sprang forth.¹ To the crowd this was only a pageant, — at most an expression of gratitude towards him to whom humanity owed gifts more precious than those of Demeter and Dionysos;² but to some it was the light that Greece had received, which it was her duty to spread abroad, and which, in truth, she has spread over the whole world.

BRONZE COIN.³

III. — THE MYSTERIES; ORPHISM.

CERTAIN religious festivals enjoyed popularity for ages, and are still the subject of careful study; I refer to the Mysteries, those especially of Samothrace and Eleusis, renowned as the most ancient and most venerated of all.

At Samothrace were worshipped the Kabeiroi, whose true names, hidden from the profane, were revealed to the initiated only, so that they might, in time of peril, be able to invoke these helpful and powerful divinities. An old author, however, has given us these names,¹ Axieros, Axiokersos, and Axiokersa, forming a divine triad, with a fourth, Kadmilos, — probably their father. The first three names contain the radicals of the word *eros*, “love,” and *keros*, the archaic form of *κόρος*, a youth, and *κόρη*, maiden. Axiokersos and Axiokersa, therefore, may perhaps represent the male and female attracted towards each other by love, and their cult one of

¹ See Vol. I. p. 329, Birth of Athene.

² The usual appellation of Prometheus was the Fire-bearer, — ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς Τιτῶν Προμηθεύς (Sophokles, *Oidipous at Kolonos*, 56). The altar at the Akademeia was common to Prometheus and to Hephaistos, whose united images stood in the same place (Pausanias, i. 30, 2; i. 3, 6).

³ An altar of Demeter; it has a door in the centre, and on it stand three female figures bearing torches. On each side is a tall flambeau, round which is entwined a serpent. Legend: ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Kyzikos, with the effigy of the Emperor Hadrian.)

⁴ The Scholiast of Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonautics*, i. 913.

those founded on the idea of generation and reproduction, which at all times so much interested the pagan world. The instruction given to the initiated appears to have consisted mainly in cosmo-



AXIOKERSOS, AXIOKERSA, AND KADMILOS.¹

gonic notions, striving much more assiduously to penetrate the nature of things than the nature of the gods. This, at least, is the opinion of Cicero.²

Any man might receive initiation into the Mysteries of Samothrace, but only after undergoing purifications which were an expia-

¹ Axiokersos, Axiokersa, and Kadmilos. Triple hermes of marble in the Vatican (from Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, pl. xli.). The three divinities are here represented, Axiokersos as Dionysos, Axiokersa as Kora, and Kadmilos as Hermes. On the three faces at the base are reliefs representing the Greek deities corresponding to the three Kabeiroi; namely, Apollo, Aphrodite, and Eros. (Concerning the Kabeiroi, see the article by Lenormant in the *Dict. des Antiq. grecques et romaines*, s. v.)

² *De Natura Deorum*, i. 43.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented the arrival of Hades and Kora in the infernal regions (from the *Monumenti dell' Instit. archeol.*, vol. vi. pl. xlii.). Hades and Kora are standing on a car drawn by four horses. The artist has not here represented the abduction so lamented both by Persephone and her mother. He gives us the return (*καθόδος*) of the goddess after her stay upon earth. Persephone appears indeed neither despairing nor resigned; it is the serious and serene bride, the queen of the underworld. A winged Eros follows with a wreath, and Hekate in front guides the car with her lighted torches; a god, perhaps Apollo, seated on the left, prepares to receive the royal pair. It is not easy to determine who is the female figure holding a torch behind the car. (See Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, vol. ii. pp. 597 *et seq.*)



THE ARRIVAL OF HADES AND KORA IN THE INFERNAL REGIONS.

tion for crimes, and were supposed to secure the individual against dangers in this world, as well as to confer upon him a better life beyond the tomb. One of the necessary conditions was confession made to the priest by the postulant.

Lysandros and Antalkidas declined to make this confession. "The gods know what crimes we have committed," said Antalkidas; "and that is enough." "Do you

BRONZE.¹

ask it yourself, or do the gods require it?" Lysandros inquired; and when the priest rejoined that it was the demand of the gods, Lysandros bade him withdraw, declaring that when the gods should question him personally, he would reply, but not before.

The Mysteries of Eleusis remind one of those theatrical representations of the Middle Ages called also, but in quite a different sense, "Mysteries;" for the Eleusinian ceremonies consisted in a representation of the beautiful and dramatic legend of Demeter and Kora (Ceres and Proserpine), preserved to us in one of the Homeric Hymns.²

"I begin to sing fair-haired Demeter, a hallowed goddess,—herself and her long-ankled daughter whom Hades snatched away from golden-sworded Demeter, renowned for fruits, as the maiden sported with the deep-bosomed daughters of Okeanos, culling flowers through the soft meadow—roses and crocuses and beauteous violets, hyacinths, the iris and the narcissus, which Earth, at the command of Zeus, favoring the Many-Receiver [Hades], brought forth as a snare to the maiden. From its root a hundred heads sprang forth, and the whole wide heaven above was scented with its fragrance, and the whole earth laughed, and the briny wave of the sea. And the girl stretched out both her hands to seize the pretty plaything, when the wide-wayed earth yawned in the Mysian plain where the many-receiving king, the many-named son of Kronos, leaped forth with his immortal steeds and snatched away her, unwilling, in his golden chariot, weeping and shrieking aloud, calling upon her father, the son of Kronos.³ But no one of mortals or

¹ Coin of Eleusis. Demeter seated in a car drawn by two winged dragons. Reverse: ΕΑΕΥΞ. Hog standing, looking to the right. (Bronze.)

² Cf. Guignaut, *Religions d'antiquité*, in the *Éclaircissements* of vol. iii. pt. ii. § i. p. 1098; and Maury, ii. 468–476. This Hymn has 496 lines. It is believed to have been compiled in the seventh century B. C.

³ A very pretty terra-cotta from the Kyrenaïka is believed to represent Persephone gathering flowers. (See *History of Rome*, iii. 608.) This abduction is often represented in ancient works of art.

immortals heard her voice save only light-veiled Hekate, who heard her from her cave, and King Sun, the glorious child of Hyperion. . . .

"Now, as long as Persephone beheld the earth and the starry heaven and the much flowing fishy sea and the rays of the sun, and still hoped to behold



MEDALLION.¹

her careful mother and the tribes of the gods who are forever, so long did hope soften her mind, although grieving. But the heights of the mountains and the depths of the sea resounded with her immortal voice, and her revered mother heard her. Quickly grief seized her mind, and she rent the veil above her ambrosial locks, and cast the dark blue raiment from her shoulders, and rushed like a bird over land and sea, seeking her child; but to her no one either of gods or men was will-

ing to tell the truth, nor did any one of the birds come to her as a true messenger. Then for nine days did hallowed Demeter walk the earth, bearing blazing torches in her hands, nor ever did she, grieving, taste ambrosia or sweet nectar, nor lave her body in the bath.² But when to her the tenth shining morn had come, Hekate met her, bearing a light and bringing news. . . .

"Then went they together to the Sun, who looks upon men and gods, and they stood in front of his steeds, and Demeter asked him concerning her daughter. . . . Then the son of Hyperion answered her: 'Daughter of fair-haired Rheia, royal Demeter, thou shalt know, for indeed I grieve for and pity thee much, sorrowing for thy slender-ankled daughter. But none of the immortals is guilty save only cloud-compelling Zeus, who has given her to his own brother Hades to be called his youthful wife. Her he has snatched away with his steeds, and has carried her, loudly shrieking, into the murky darkness beneath. But, O



FIGURINE.³

¹ The abduction of Persephone. Hades, standing in his chariot, grasping Persephone, who flings herself backward with a gesture of despair. On the front of the chariot Eros, holding two torches, lights the way. Under the feet of the horses is an overturned vase. (Reverse of a bronze medallion of Ionia, with the effigy of Antoninus Pius.)

² Hence the torch-race and the fasting.

³ The Eleusinian Demeter. Figurine of terra-cotta, severe in style, obtained at Eleusis, and now in the Louvre. The goddess, wearing a high *stephanos* shaped like a basket, holds the swine and the lighted torch. (Cf. Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite au musée du Louvre*, pl. xviii. bis, No. 2.)

goddess, cease thy great wrath; it in no wise behooves thee to cherish it. Hades, who rules over many, is by no means an unseemly kinsman among the immortals. . . .’ Thus having spoken, he cheered on his horses, and they at his encouragement bore along the fleet chariot like wing-expanding birds.

“But upon the mind of the goddess fell deeper and heavier grief, and in her anger she quitted the assembly of the gods upon Olympus, and sought the cities and rich fields of men, and long disguised herself so that she was recognized by none until she came to the dwelling of the wise Keleos, who ruled in sweet-scented Eleusis. And she sat near the way-side, saddened at heart, by the Parthenian well, whence the citizens drew their water, in the shade under an olive-tree, like unto an aged woman, such as are the nurses of the children of law-administering kings, and housekeepers in their echoing dwellings.



TRIPTOLEμος.¹



DEMETER.²

“But the daughters of Eleusinian Keleos perceived her as they came for clear-flowing water, that they might bear it in golden ewers to the beloved dwellings of their father, four, like goddesses, possessing the flower of youth, Kallidike, and Klisi-dike, and lovely Demo, and Kallithoë, who was the eldest of them all. But they knew her not, for difficult is it for mortals to recognize the gods; and standing near, they addressed her in winged words: ‘Who and whence art thou, old woman? And why hast thou walked far away from the city, nor dost approach the dwellings where there are women of thine own age in the shady abodes, even as thou art, and younger ones also, who would, no doubt, receive thee kindly in word and deed?’

“Thus they spoke; and she, the hallowed goddess, answered them: ‘Dear children, whoever ye are, of the seed of women, hail! . . . I have come hither wandering, nor know I aught what land this is, nor who are its inhabitants. . . . Take pity on me kindly, dear children, until I reach the dwelling of a man and woman, that I may willingly work for them in such things as are the business of an aged woman. And truly I could carefully nurse a young infant and carry him in my arms, and could take

¹ Triptolemos on a car drawn by two winged dragons. Legend: NIKAIEQN (Reverse of a bronze medallion of Nikaia in Bithynia, with the effigy of Caracalla).

² Bronze coin. Demeter seeking her daughter. The goddess is walking to the right, carrying in each hand a lighted torch. Legend: KYZIKHNQN. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Kyzikos, struck under the Roman Empire; from Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. gr. et rom.*, i. 1054.)

care of the house, and could spread my master's bed in the recess of the well-built chambers, and could superintend the work of the maids.' The goddess spoke; and to her the virgin Kallidike, most beauteous in form of the daughters of Keleos, made answer: 'O nurse, we mortals must needs endure the lot given us by the gods, although grieving, for they indeed are much more powerful than we. But this will I clearly suggest to thee, and will name the men to whom there is here great power and dig-



ZEUS, HERMES, AND IRIS.¹

nity, and who take the lead among the people, and by counsels and upright judgments guard the battlements of the city. . . . But if thou wilt remain, that we may go to the dwelling of our father, and tell all these matters thoroughly to our deep-bosomed mother, Metaneira, if perchance she will bid thee come to our dwelling and not seek for the house of another. For a darling son is nurtured by her in the well-built house, prayed for to the gods and beloved. If thou couldst train him up, and he should reach maturity, with reason indeed would any one of the

¹ Vase-painting, in the Museum of the Louvre. Zeus holds the sceptre and thunderbolt. His two messengers, each carrying the caduceus, are moving rapidly away to fulfil the orders Zeus has just given them. Cf. *Gazette archéologique*, vol. i. (1875) p. 63, and pl. xiv.-xvi.

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented the painting on a cup of Hiero's manufacture (see another portion of the same cup, Vol. I. p. 174). The divinities are assembled at Eleusis to witness the departure of Triptolemos, who is assisted by Demeter and Persephone. The figures are as follows: at the left (next to Persephone in the other fragment) Eleusis (ΕΥΕΥΣΙΣ) personified as a nymph, crowned and holding a flower; then Eumolpos (ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΟΣ), seated, with a sceptre in his hand; a swan at his side is an allusion to the king's name, — it is indeed the tuneful bird (εὐμολπος). Next are Zeus (ΖΕΥΣ), Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ), and Amphitrite (ΑΝΦΙΤΡΙΤΗ). The sceptre of Dionysos is a vine-stock, and Amphitrite holds in the left hand a fish.



DIVINITIES AT ELEUSIS.

race of women, seeing, envy thee; such great rewards for thy nursing would he give thee.'

"Thus she spoke, and the goddess nodded assent; and they, having filled the vessels with water, bore them away rejoicing. And quickly they reached the great house of their father, and told their mother of what they had both seen and heard. And she immediately bade them



RETURN OF PERSEPHONE.¹

go and call the nurse, with promise of boundless recompense. And they, like hinds or heifers gambolling through the meadow in the season of spring, uplifting the folds of their beauteous robes, sped along the wagon-furrowed way, and about their shoulders their curls, like unto the crocus-flower, sported. And near the road they found the renowned goddess where they had left her; and they led her to their father's dwelling, while she, sorrowing at heart, followed behind them with her head veiled, and the dark robe clinging about her feet. And quickly they reached the house of Zeus-nurtured Keleos, and went through the portico, where their hallowed mother awaited them, having her son in her arms. . . . But admiration and wonder and pallid fear possessed her, and she yielded up her seat, and bade Demeter be seated. But the goddess remained silent,

¹ Vase-painting (from Strube, *Supplement zu den Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, Taf. iii.). Kora-Persephone (ΠΕΡΣΕΦΑΤΑ) is coming up out of the earth, led by Hermes (ΗΡΜΗΣ) and preceded by Hekate (ΗΚΑΤΗ), who holds a torch in each hand. The attitude of the goddess expresses amazement at the sight of daylight. Her mother (ΔΕΜΗΤΕΡ), standing at the right, waits calmly, leaning on her sceptre.

casting down her beauteous eyes, until at length Iambe, knowing prudent things, offered her a compact seat with a silver-woven fleece spread upon it. Here sitting down, the goddess drew her veil over her face with her

ENGRAVED STONE.¹

hands, and for a long time sat speechless, nor did she apply herself to any word or deed, but without a smile, unfed by food or drink, she sat wasting away with longing for Persephone, her daughter, until Iambe, with much bantering, turned the hallowed one to smile and laugh and have an appeased mind. . . . And Metaneira gave her a cup of sweet wine; but the goddess refused it, and bade her, having mixed wheat and water with pounded penny-

royal, give it her to drink. . . . Then Metaneira said to her: 'Hail, lady, since I deem thou art not from mean parents, but good ones, since modesty and grace are conspicuous in thy countenance, like as among the descend-

VASE-PAINTING.²

ants of law-administering kings. And now, since thou hast come hither, whatever is mine shall be thine, and cherish for me this boy whom, born late and unhopèd-for, the gods have bestowed on us.' And her in turn well-crowned Demeter answered: 'And thou, too, lady, hail! And may the

¹ Laws of Triptolemos. Engraved stone (from Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Taf. cccxi. No. 13). Triptolemos, standing upon a car drawn by serpents, hands the roll of his laws. Concerning the laws of Triptolemos and of Demeter Thesmophoros, see F. Lenormant, in the *Dict. des Antiquités grecques et romaines* at the word "Ceres," p. 1043.

² Worship of ears of corn at Eleusis. Vase-painting (from Minervini, *Monumenti inediti posseduti da Raffaele Barone*, pl. xxii. No. 1). The sight of the harvested grain (*τεθρῆμισμένος στᾶχυς*) was "the great, the marvellous, the completed mystery of the *epopteia*," as says the author of the *Philosophoumena* (v. 8, p. 115, ed. Miller). It crowned the spectacle of the mystic watch-night (*παννυχίς*) of Demeter and Persephone. On the vase of Ruvo, of which part is reproduced above, the ears of corn are placed under a little building, and the initiated of both sexes bring various offerings. (See F. Lenormant, in the *Gazette archéologique*, vol. v. (1879) pp. 32 *et seq.*)

gods grant thee good things! I will willingly receive thy boy, as thou biddest me, to nurture; nor, I trust, shall any charms harm him, or deadly plant, through the carelessness of his nurse.'

"Thus having spoken, the goddess received him in her fragrant bosom and immortal hands, and his mother rejoiced in mind. . . . And the boy grew up like unto a god, taking neither food nor milk. But Demeter anointed him with ambrosia, breathing sweetly upon him, and carrying



SCENE OF PURIFICATION.¹

him in her bosom; and at night she laid him in the fire like a brand, without the knowledge of his dear parents. And to them he was a great marvel how bloomingly he grew, and was like unto the gods in person. And truly would Demeter have rendered him free from old age and immortal, if it had not been that well-girt Metaneira, in her folly, watching by night, had looked out from her perfumed chamber and shrieked, fearing for her son and bewailing: 'My child Demophoön, the strange woman is concealing thee in a great fire, and to me causes groans and grievous sorrows.' Thus she spoke, weeping, and the goddess heard her, and fair-crowned Demeter, being angry, put from her to the ground the boy, having taken him out of the fire. And being very wrathful in mind, spoke thus to Metaneira: 'Ignorant and unwise men, who foresee not

¹ Painting on an Athenian lecyth (from H. Heydemann, *Griechische Vasenbilder*, Taf. xi. 3). The artist represents preparations for a purification. A woman, perhaps a priestess, is placing a little pig on the ground; in her left hand she holds a basket, which probably contains the barley for the sacrifice. On the ground before her, three torches are burning.

coming good or evil! By thy folly hast thou erred most greatly. For let the pledge of the gods bear witness, the water of the Styx, that yields no forgiveness, I would have made thy dear son immortal, and free from age forever, and would have given him unperishing honor. But now it is not possible for him to escape death and the Fates; but unperishing honor shall be his, because he has sat upon my knees and slept in my arms. . . . I am honored Demeter, who is the greatest benefit and joy to mortals and immortals. But come, let all the people build for me a great temple, and under it an altar, between the city and the lofty wall above Kallichoros upon the jutting hill, and I myself will teach my sacred rites, so that, duly performing them, ye may appease my mind.'

"Thus speaking, the goddess changed her magnitude and mien, having put off old age, and beauty was breathed around her, and a pleasant odor was scattered from her scented robes, and far gleamed the light from the immortal flesh of the goddess, and her yellow curls were luxuriant upon her shoulders, and the dwelling was filled with the sheen as of lightning. And she went out from the palace. But the knees of Metaneira were relaxed, and for a long time she remained speechless; nor did she bethink her at all of her darling son to take him from the ground. But his sisters heard his piteous voice, and they sprang up from their well-spread couches. Then one, taking the boy up in her hands, placed him in her bosom, and another kindled the fire, and another ran to raise up her mother in the fragrant chamber. Then gathering around the child, they washed him, tending him yet panting; but his mind was not comforted, for inferior nurses and attendants now possessed him. And they, trembling with fear, kept appeasing the renowned goddess during the night, but together, with the dawn appearing, they told truly to Keleos of wide power what the goddess, fair-crowned Demeter, had commanded. And he, having summoned the numerous people into council, ordered them to build a rich temple to fair-haired Demeter, and an altar, upon the jutting hill. And they immediately obeyed and hearkened to him, and built as he commanded. Then when they had finished, and rested from their toil, they went, each man, homeward.

"And yellow-haired Demeter, sitting down here, far apart from all the blessed gods, remained, wasting away with longing for her deep-bosomed daughter. And she rendered that year a most grievous and cruel one for men upon the many-nurturing earth, nor did the soil give forth any seed, for well-crowned Demeter concealed it. And the steers dragged many curving ploughs over the fields to no purpose, and much white barley fell upon the earth in vain. And she indeed would have destroyed the whole race of men by grievous famine, and would have deprived the dwellers on Olympos of the glorious honor of gifts and sacrifices, had not Zeus

perceived and taken counsel in his mind. And first he sent golden-winged Iris to call beauteous fair-haired Demeter; . . . but her mind was not persuaded. Again he sent all the blessed immortal gods. And they, coming one after another, called her and gave many beauteous gifts and



VASE-PAINTING.¹

honors, whatever she wished to choose; but no one was able to persuade her mind, and she obstinately rejected their persuasion, saying that she would never step upon incense-laden Olympos, nor let the fruit of the earth come forth, until she should with her eyes behold her fair-faced daughter.

¹ Initiation of Herakles into the Lesser Mysteries. Vase-painting (from the *Compte rendu de la Commission archéologique de Saint-Petersbourg*, 1859, pl. ii.). In the centre are Demeter and Persephone. Demeter is seated, wearing the *kalathos*, and holding a sceptre in her hand. Persephone stands leaning against a column, a long torch in her hand. Between the two goddesses the youthful Ploutos, the god of riches, holds a cornucopia. Aphrodite, seated at the left, with Eros at her side, and another female figure whose name is uncertain, at the right, occupy the foreground. Behind them, on the right, is seated Dionysos, recognized by his thyrsos and wreath of ivy; in the background is Triptolemos on his winged chariot. The young divinity is returning from his long expeditions to witness the initiation of Herakles, who approaches Demeter guided by a personage richly clad and holding two torches; this is the *mystagogos*, the instructor of the *mystai*, or perhaps here the *dadouchos*. In the right hand Herakles holds his club, — his customary attribute: in the left he carries the branch, or *bákchos*, which is held by the initiated. He is also crowned with myrtle, as they are. It was only the Lesser Mysteries into which the hero was initiated, and it is said they were instituted expressly on his account. This festival was celebrated in Athens, on the banks of the Ilissos, in the demos Agrai. (See C. Strube, *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, Kap. III. p. 49.)

"Then, when heavy-thundering, far-seeing Zeus heard this, he sent the golden-wanded slayer of Argos down into the infernal regions, that, having beguiled Hades by soft words, he might lead away chaste Persephone from the murky darkness back to the gods, so that Demeter, beholding her, might cease from her wrath. And Hermes was not disobedient, but straightway sped beneath the earth; and he found the king in his abode, seated on a couch with Persephone at his side, who grieved greatly through longing for her mother.

"Then the bold slayer of Argos, standing near, addressed him: 'Dark-haired Hades, who rulest over the dead, Zeus the father bids thee lead forth noble Persephone, that her mother, beholding her, may cease from her wrath and bitter anger against the immortals; for she devises a dreadful deed, to destroy the feeble tribes of men, concealing the seed beneath the ground, and wasting away the honors of the immortal gods. And she cherishes grievous wrath, and does not associate with the gods, but sits afar off within her incense-fraught temple, possessing the rocky city of Eleusis.'

"Thus he spoke; and Hades, king of the dead, smiled from beneath his eyebrows, and did not disobey the behest of Zeus. And quickly

he bade prudent Persephone thus: 'Go, Persephone, to thy dark-robed mother, having a mild spirit and disposition in thy breast, nor do thou give way to sadness excessively beyond others. In no wise am I an unseemly consort among the immortals, being own brother of Zeus. Coming hither, thou shalt be mistress of all beings, as many as live and walk, and thou shalt ever possess the greatest honors among the immortals.' Thus he spoke, and prudent Persephone rejoiced; but he had secretly given her the sweet grain of a pome-



MEDALLION.¹

granate to eat, that she might not remain forever with hallowed Demeter, the dark-robed goddess. Then Hades, the Many-Receiver, yoked his steeds to the golden chariot, and she mounted the chariot; and with her the strong slayer of Argos, seizing the bridles and scourge in his hands, drove the steeds straight out from the abodes, and they twain flew along not unwillingly. And swiftly they passed over the long tracks, nor did the sea, nor the water of rivers, nor the grassy valleys, nor the heights, restrain the

¹ Demeter seeking her daughter. Demeter, holding a torch in each hand, standing in a chariot drawn by two winged dragons. Legend: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΠΙ. ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ . . . Coin of the confederation of thirteen cities of Ionia, struck by authority of Claudius Fronto, asiarch and chief priest. (Bronze medallion with the effigy of Antoninus Pius.)

rush of the immortal steeds, but they cut through the deep darkness as they went. And he stopped driving them where well-crowned Demeter stood, before the incense-fraught temple; but she, perceiving, leaped forward like a mænad on a wooded mountain."



DIVINITIES AND PRIESTS AT ELEUSIS.¹

Here the manuscript of this hymn is mutilated. The missing portion describes the meeting of mother and daughter, and the inquiry of Demeter whether, by eating anything in the kingdom of Hades, Persephone has rendered herself subject to his will. She

¹ Painted relief upon a hydria of Cumæ, now in the Museum of the Hermitage (from the *Compte rendu*, 1862, pl. iii.). Cf. Strube, *Studien über den Bild. von Eleusis*, pp. 32 et seq. The composition consists of five groups of two figures each; in each group one figure is seated, and one standing. In the centre we see Demeter and Kora. Demeter, seated upon a stone, wears the *kalathos* and leans upon her sceptre. She turns towards Persephone, who holds with both hands a heavy torch. Between the two goddesses is a little portable altar, above which are crossed two sheaves of wheat-ears; these the initiated were required to carry to Eleusis, in memory of the benefits of the Great Goddess. In the two figures at each side of the central group Strube identifies at the left the hierophant, at the right the victim-killer (*ιερεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῷ*, p. 39). The latter, in the usual costume of his class, holds in the right hand a pig, the animal usually offered to Demeter, and in the left, ears of corn. The hierophant, wearing a wreath of myrtle and a splendid stola, partly gilded, holds a thyrsos; behind him is a tripod. The thyrsos is appropriate for the priest of Iakchos; the tripod, for the interpreter of the signs in the sacrifices. These two figures turn, the victim-killer towards

confesses that this is the case; and mother and daughter agree to accept the decree of Zeus that Persephone shall pass one third of the revolving year beneath the murky darkness, and two thirds



INITIATION OF HERAKLES AND THE DIOSKOUROI.¹

among the immortals. Then Demeter again restores to the fields their fertility, and the whole earth is weighed down with leaves and flowers. She teaches to Triptolemos and Eumolpos the secrets

Athene, the hierophant towards Triptolemos. The goddess is armed with lance and helmet, but is without her shield. Two seated divinities complete the composition at each end; on the right, Aphrodite, her head covered with a veil; on the left, Artemis. Each leans upon her sceptre. Before Aphrodite stands a priest, — perhaps the *dadouchos*; before Artemis is the sacred herald. These figures carry long torches. In respect to this beautiful and very interesting composition, see Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, ii. 675–680.

¹ From a painted vase in the British Museum (Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des monuments céramographiques*, vol. iii. pl. 63 a). Cf. Strube, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 *et seq.*, p. 54. (Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, vol. ii. pp. 669 *et seq.*) In the centre, as on the hydria of Cumæ (preceding page), we see Demeter seated and Kora standing. Triptolemos is also in the foreground, seated in his chariot. The two goddesses are looking to the right, towards one of the Dioskouroi, who introduces the mystagogos. The hero carries the *bakchos*, which has been already mentioned; the mystagogos holds a torch. At the left, also preceded by a mystagogos, appears Herakles, identified by his club, and the second of the Dioskouroi. In the background are the columns of the Eleusinion of Agrai. (On the initiation of the Dioskouroi, see Xenophon, *Hellen.*, vi. 3, 6.)

of agriculture¹ and the sacred rites by which she wishes to be honored; then ascends to Olympus. But she and her daughter henceforth keep watch over the world, and grant a prosperous life to those who, being initiated into their Mysteries, continue their faithful worshippers.²

The festivals of Eleusis were the dramatic representation of this legend, under the direction of the Eumolpidae, to whom, the poet says, was given the golden key of the Mysteries.

On the 15th day of the month Boedromion the chief priest of Eleusis, the hierophant (ἱεροφάντης), always chosen from the Eumolpidae, and having the priesthood for life on condition of celibacy, proceeded to the Stoa Poikile³ in Athens, wearing a diadem, and there proclaimed the opening of the solemnity together with the duties imposed upon the initiated and the *Mystai*,—those who had been for a year preparing, under the charge of one of the Eumolpids, to receive initiation. Barbarians and men guilty of homicide, even where it was involuntary, were excluded from these rites; but every Hellene “of pure soul and pure hands” might be admitted. On the second day the *Mystai* went in procession to the sea-coast, where they received a solemn purification. On the 17th, 18th, and 19th of the month sacrifices and prayers were

¹ See Vol. I. p. 567, on the bas-relief from Eleusis, Demeter committing to Triptolemos the grain of wheat.

Data semina jussit

Spargere humo.

Ovid, *Metam.*, v. 645, 646.

In 1858 was found a curious inscription containing the programme of the ceremonies which accompanied the celebration of the Mysteries at Andania in Messenia. It begins with the formula of the oath taken by the priests and priestesses, the latter being required to swear that they have been faithful to their husbands. It then gives rules in respect to the wreath and costume to be worn by the initiated, the oath of the magistrates who superintend the conduct of the women (*gynaikonomoi*), the order of the procession, and the manner of setting up the tents; it establishes severe penalties against those who disturb the ceremonies, appointing twenty police officers, whose duties it sets forth; it regulates the appointment of receivers for the offerings, confers upon Mnenistratos, who seems to be the hierophant, the care of the sacred fountain; and it provides for everything connected with the baths, and orders all officers who have any share in the management of the ceremony to report their doings to the prytaneis. (Cf. on this inscription the commentary of Foucart, — *Le Bas and Foucart, Inscr. du Péloponnèse*, p. 164.)

² It is noteworthy that the name of Dionysos is not mentioned in this Hymn to Demeter, — a further proof that the arrival of Dionysos in Greece was comparatively late. See also Vol. I. p. 331, note 3.

³ [The Stoa Poikile was a portico in the Agora, called, from the paintings which adorned its walls, the “Painted Chamber.” These paintings were battle-scenes from Athenian history, and are described by Pausanias (i. 15). — Ed.]

offered, and expiatory ceremonies were performed according to a ritual sedulously concealed from the profane, and further preparation was made by a day's fasting.

The most touching of these ceremonies was that in which a girl or boy of pure Athenian race, called "the child of the hearth,"

BRONZE.¹

because he stood nearest the altar and the sacrifice, performed certain expiatory rites in the name of those who sought initiation into the Mysteries. It seemed that these supplications, coming from innocent lips, would be on that account the more acceptable to the gods,—it was the redemption of all, granted at a child's prayer.

On the 20th the part of the festival which took place at Athens came to an end, and by the Sacred Road the great procession set forth, bearing to Eleusis the image of Iakchos, who was regarded as the son of Demeter, and whose name was shouted joyously by the initiated. The road was only about seventeen miles long (a horse could walk the distance in four hours); but there were many stations along the way for sacrifices, oblations, and singing. At the bridge over the Kephissos there was always much raillery and banter between the pilgrims and the attendant crowd, in memory of the jests whereby Iambe, the Thracian slave, diverted the goddess from her grief. The procession reached Eleusis at night by torch-light, and a stay of many days was made there, the crowd occupied with amusements of every kind, and the initiated devoting themselves

BRONZE.²

¹ The *kalathos* of Demeter. Ptolemy Philadelphus instituted at Alexandria the procession of the *kalathos* of Demeter, which was placed in a chariot drawn by four white horses. The coin above represented commemorates this scene. The *kalathos*, filled with flowers and wheat-ears, is seen in a chariot drawn by four horses. In the field is the date LII (=13). Large bronze, with the effigy of Trajan. (From Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. gr. et rom.*, i. 1071.)

² The thirteen cities of the Ionian confederation offering a sacrifice. Apollo Klarios, seated in a tetrastyle temple. Before the temple are thirteen men, representing the cities. These figures, each with lifted hand, form a semi-circle around an altar and a bull about to be sacrificed. Legend: ΕΠΙ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΑΙΟΝΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΙΩΝΩΝ ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΩΝ. In the centre: ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze medallion struck at Kolophon, with the effigy of Trebonius Gallus.)

to their religious duties. The herald, before opening the sacred doors, cried: "Let the profane, the impious, those dealing in magic arts, and those who have shed human blood, depart hence!" Any one of these found in the temple amid the initiated and those seeking initiation would have been at once put to death. The same penalty, accompanied with confiscation of property, was inflicted upon those who revealed the Mysteries.

The temple of Demeter stood above the city on the slope of a hill. A wall, enclosing a space 426 feet in length, and 328 in breadth, debarred the profane from approaching the sacred building or even gazing upon it.¹ The initiated came to it clad in robes of linen, their hair caught up by golden grasshoppers, and wreathed with myrtle. By symbolic ceremonies they set forth the abduction of Persephone and her abode in the kingdom of Hades, the grief of Demeter and her long wanderings in search of her daughter. The most sacred rites were celebrated in the night,



BIRTH OF DIONYSOS ZAGREUS.²

—a time propitious to mystery and that intoxication of the mind which springs from an over-excited imagination. The ceremonies of the last night were particularly impressive. The *mystai* ran about the sacred enclosure carrying torches, shaking them so that showers of purifying sparks were flung off, and passing them from hand to hand, in token of the transmission of divine light and knowledge. One after another the torches were extinguished, and from the darkness came mysterious voices and appalling images, accompanied by flashes of lightning. Groans seemed to issue from the earth, chains

¹ The Archæological Society of Athens has made important excavations at Eleusis. In a later volume will be given a plan of the ruins of the temple.

² Persephone, mother of Dionysos, seated on a throne, gives the mystic infant to Eileithyia, who receives him in her arms. Demeter, standing, a veil on her head, recognizable by the wheat-ears and poppies in her hand, is present. Eileithyia stands half unclad; Persephone and Demeter are entirely clothed. (Cameo on sardonyx of two layers, 36 millim. by 40. *Cabinet de France*, No. 59.)

clanked, and terror fell upon the hearts of all. This was the most trying period of the initiation, and the more ancient classic writers have given no description of the actual occurrences.

After these tests of faith and courage the sacred drama continued its development. Persephone was restored to her mother,



ARRIVAL OF DIONYSOS AT THE HOUSE OF IKARIOS.¹

and to scenes of lamentation succeeded scenes of rejoicing; the terrors of Tartaros were followed by the joys of the Emyrean; the darkness was illumined with countless lights; the sanctuary was filled with radiance and harmony. Marvellous apparitions, sacred songs, rhythmic dances, announced the completion of the Mysteries. Then the veils fell, and Demeter stood revealed to her worshippers in all the splendor of her beauty.

¹ According to the legend, Ikarios lived in Athens in the time of Pandion; he received Dionysos into his house, and the god in return taught him to cultivate the vine (Pausanias, i. 2, 4; Apollod., iii. 4, 7). The scene represented above takes place in the vestibule of a large house which appears in the background. Dionysos, stupefied with intoxication and leaning on a young satyr whom he seems to crush with his weight, comes to Ikarios, the heroic type of Athenian farmer. Ikarios, and his wife, Phanotheia, are reclining at table, near a column which bears the antique hermes of a divinity. The exhausted god is about to take his place near his hosts on their couch, and with difficulty extends his foot to a young satyr to remove the sandal. He is followed by his noisy and staggering attendants: first, a satyr bearing the enormous thyrsos of his master, then Silenos, playing on the double-flute, then two satyrs, one of whom supports an exhausted bacchante. There are several replicas of this bas-relief, notably in the Louvre. (See Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique*, No. 204. Cf. in the *Dict. des antiq. grecques et romaines*, note 522 on p. 606.)

We have unfortunately only very incomplete revelations of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and we cannot follow the order of ceremonies, some of which had the character of sacraments. The preliminary purifications, which washed away all stain, were like baptism, and in drinking the *kykeon*, the initiated was in communion with Nature and life. Other rites consisted in the adoration of relics and mysterious objects that were received into the hands, raised to the lips, and passed on, or replaced in the sacred basket, the *kalathos*.



SCENE OF INITIATION INTO THE DIONYSIAC MYSTERIES.²

The festivals were observed at different periods of the year, there being three degrees of initiation and three ranks of the initiated. The Lesser Eleusinia, which were a preparation for the Greater (*προκάθαρσις*), occurred in the month of the first flowers, Anthesterion (February), when life, awakening in the earth's bosom, announced the return of Persephone to Eleusis; the Greater Mysteries, in the Month of the Sacred Races, Boedromion (September), when Nature was about to fall asleep and the bride of Hades must return to the gloomy abode of her husband. It was only

¹ Relief in terra-cotta (from Campana, *Opere antiche in plastica*, tav. xlv.). To the sounds of the tympanon, struck by a bacchante, the priestess leads to the left the person about to be initiated. He, with veiled head, advances cautiously, stooping. An old Silenos comes to meet them, carrying aloft with both hands a basket filled with fruit.

after a year that the initiated were admitted to the final order, the supreme contemplation (*epoptia*).

The human race has always offered to the Supreme Judge the insult of supposing that he would frame his judgment, not according to the acts of a man's life, but according to his devotions in the temple; and certain religious rites have been taken to make him who performs them the chosen of the gods. The initiated of Eleusis looked forward with certainty to the eternal beatitude which, according to Homer and Hesiod, was to be conferred on a few heroes only. "Blessed is he of mortal men," says the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, "who has beheld these rites; for he who is initiated and he who has not partaken in them has by no means the same fortune, though dead, beneath the murky darkness." "They lie in the slime of Hades," says Pindar; "while the man purified by initiation has understood before his death the beginning and ends of life, and after death dwells with the gods." Sophokles also says: "To these alone is granted life."¹ It was believed even that during the celebration of the Mysteries the souls of the initiated shared in the blessedness of the immortals. In the picture of the infernal regions painted at Delphi by Polygnotos are represented two women who, new Danaïdes, try to carry water in jars which have no bottom. An inscription says that they were never initiated, — which signifies that without initiation life is altogether wasted and lost.

These ideas were not very ancient, for the question of the immortality of the soul had always remained obscure, and the conceptions of Homer and Hesiod had sufficed to the religious needs of the Greek mind until the sixth century. Then the road in which Hellenism moved forward was broadened by three new forces, — the philosophers, who now began to ask very daring questions; the dramatic poets, who laid bold hands upon the old world of heroic legends; and, lastly, religious fraternities, who assumed to give satisfaction to desires of the human soul more imperative than those of past ages. We have already spoken of the earlier schools of philosophy,² and later we shall discuss the

¹ Sophokles, *Frag.*, 719 [Dr. Plumptre's Eng. trans., p. 418].

² See above, Chapter XIII. § 4.

drama. But after speaking of the Mysteries, it is appropriate to refer to those associations which ventured, beyond the official cult, into the obscure regions where man was wont to seek that which might calm his anxieties.

In nearly all religions, outside of the domestic rites, regulated by the father of the family, and the public ceremonial, subject to traditional rules under the superintendence of the magistrates, there have been devout observances, peculiar to individuals, which were believed to lead to a more holy life, but in fact often led to dangerous disorder. In the second half of the sixth century it began to be customary to speak of the books of Orpheus as containing all the revelations necessary for attaining beatitude. Aristotle, who does not believe in the existence of this mythical personage, attributes the verses current under his name to Kerkops, a Pythagorean philosopher, and to the poet Onomakritos, both contemporaries of the Peisistratids.¹ Whatever may have been its origin, this poetry occasioned the formation of societies in which religious ideas of a more elaborate and refined character were slowly evolved from the ruder conceptions of the popular cult. Orphism — a sect half philosophic, half religious, which found its chosen home in Athens—developed the idea of the harmony of the world secured by the observance of moral laws, and of the remission of wrong-doing by expiatory acts which gave the certainty of Elysian bliss in the other world. Dionysos Zagreus—the dragon born in savage Krete or Thrace² of Zeus and Persephone, the goddess of the under-world—and the Dionysos of the Boiotian mountains, the abode of furious bacchantes,³ were united by the Orphic believers in one Chthonian divinity, whom they associated, under the name Iakchos, with Demeter and Kora. The association was natural; Demeter, who had sowed the corn, Dionysos, who had planted the vine, were each other's complement, as the twofold expression of one force; namely, the vital energy of Nature. But the grain which, buried in the soil, develops, and after the harvest begins a new life; the branch

¹ Lobeck (*Aglaophamus*, book ii. p. 313) dates the beginning of the Orphic sect from the sixth century B. C. Aristotle's opinion as to Orpheus is repeated by Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, i. 38.

² Herodotos (VII. iii.) speaks of a Thracian people, the Satrai, who inhabited the mountains and had never been subjugated; they had an oracle of Dionysos.

³ See the *Bacchantes* of Euripides.

which, verdant in the spring, is loaded with fruit at maturity, then withers, to revive in another spring-time, — were thus the symbol of human existence and of the hopes of a future world,¹ and also the image of the passion of the two divinities who, by turns, seemed to die and revive. With the first flowers of spring men welcomed the birth of Dionysos; and when winter came, and Nature mourned, and the earth was barren, they lamented his death. Deprived of his bestial and orgiastic character, he became the representative of the productive forces, the principle of universal life, the divine mediator between earth and heaven, he who freed men from their woes by a Dionysiac or prophetic intoxication in ordinary life, by a moral intoxication in the Mysteries, and finally by the felicity promised in the kingdom of Shades to him who has conquered his passions. Virtue, which was without merit under the old theology, resumes its rights. Destiny is no longer the sole master of mankind;² the man himself is personally responsible, and we have a moral Tartaros, as we have a spiritualized life. For all these reasons the Eleusinian Dionysos presided over life and death, and his cult was at once joyous and sad,—joyous even to license, sad even to severe thoughts of purification and moral perfection. Accordingly, artists delighted to represent on sarcophagi the new birth of the saving divinity.

The Mysteries had originally spoken to the eyes; they were a religious drama rather than a moral or philosophic teaching.³ But the mind could not remain inert in the presence of these exciting ceremonies. Some of the spectators did not go beyond what they saw, and stopped devoutly with the legend; others, a few in number, rose from the sentiment to the idea, from imagination to reason, and, aided by the elasticity of the symbol, gradually introduced doctrines which certainly were not there in the beginning, or were there only in an extremely vague condition. Demophoön in the fire was a human soul purified by trials.

¹ Saint Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (xv. 36), employs the same symbol of the resurrection.

² See in Chapter XIX. the *Oresteia* of Aischylos.

³ "Aristotle," says Bishop Synesius, "believes that the initiated learned nothing definitely, but that they received impressions and a certain disposition of the soul" (*Disc.*, p. 48, ed. Petau). I believe that these words contain the entire truth as to the Mysteries of Eleusis. But is there not often more force in emotions produced in the soul than in arguments submitted to the mind?

Persephone and Dionysos in the under-world represented the apparent death of the human race, and their restoration to Olympus typified its renewed life and immortality. Later still, these ideas became more definite, and there grew up amid the Mysteries a purified polytheism resembling in certain of its tendencies the spiritual character of the Christian religion.



PURIFICATION OF THESEUS.¹

Diodorus Siculus believed that initiation rendered men better.² Was not that Athenian one of the initiated who, in secret, gave dowries to poor girls, ransomed captives, and interred the dead, all without hope of reward?³ The heroes of Homer esteemed happiness to consist of power and pleasure; the initiated were required to seek it in self-control and devotion. This was the moral evolution which had taken place.

But if the new beliefs could carry some souls into high regions, they were not able to set free all minds from that old naturalism which in the East had instigated licentiousness by consecrating it;

¹ Vase-painting (from the *Gazette archéol.*, vol. ix., 1884, pl. xlv.-xlv., and p. 352, De Witte). The vase belongs to a collection of antiques in the Hôtel Lambert, Paris. In the centre, Theseus, entirely nude, kneels with the right leg; possibly the spotted skin of some animal is extended beneath him. Three women, clad in the long chiton and peplos, stand behind him; the first holds a vase in her right hand; the two others carry long, lighted torches. In front of Theseus are two women, of whom one raises the right arm and supports the elbow with her left hand, while the other spreads her arms wide and has a *phiale* in her left hand. At the extreme right is a large receptacle in which is a tall hydria. Whether or no we admit that the principal figure is Theseus seeking purification after killing the robbers, it seems to be clear that Lenormant and De Witte have correctly explained the meaning of the scene.

² v. 49, 6.

³ Lysias, xix, 59.

and as they appealed especially to the imagination, they produced, even among the initiated, a nervous excitement which might degenerate into license in language and conduct. Moreover, skilful charlatans, magicians, and miracle-workers took advantage of the hopes held out to the adepts. A century had not passed after the introduction of Orphism before we find Euripides mocking at the contractors in expiatory rites, the *ὀρφεοτελεσταί*, who undertake to teach to the timid and wealthy the means of compelling the gods to favor them, and sell in the streets amulets to protect against all evils, and indulgences by which even ancestral wrong-doing may be effaced.¹

This sometimes unconscious traffic in human folly is of all times; diviners and sorcerers are found among the negroes of Africa, the American Indians, and the savages of Oceanica, as they were found among the well-organized communities of the ancient world. Fortunately for the Greeks, neither impure mysticism nor sincere mysticism were anything more than an incident of little importance in the Hellenic religion, which, with many moral failings, still preserved its character of a cult born in the sunlight and vivified with a poetic inspiration.

IV. — THE NATIONAL GAMES.

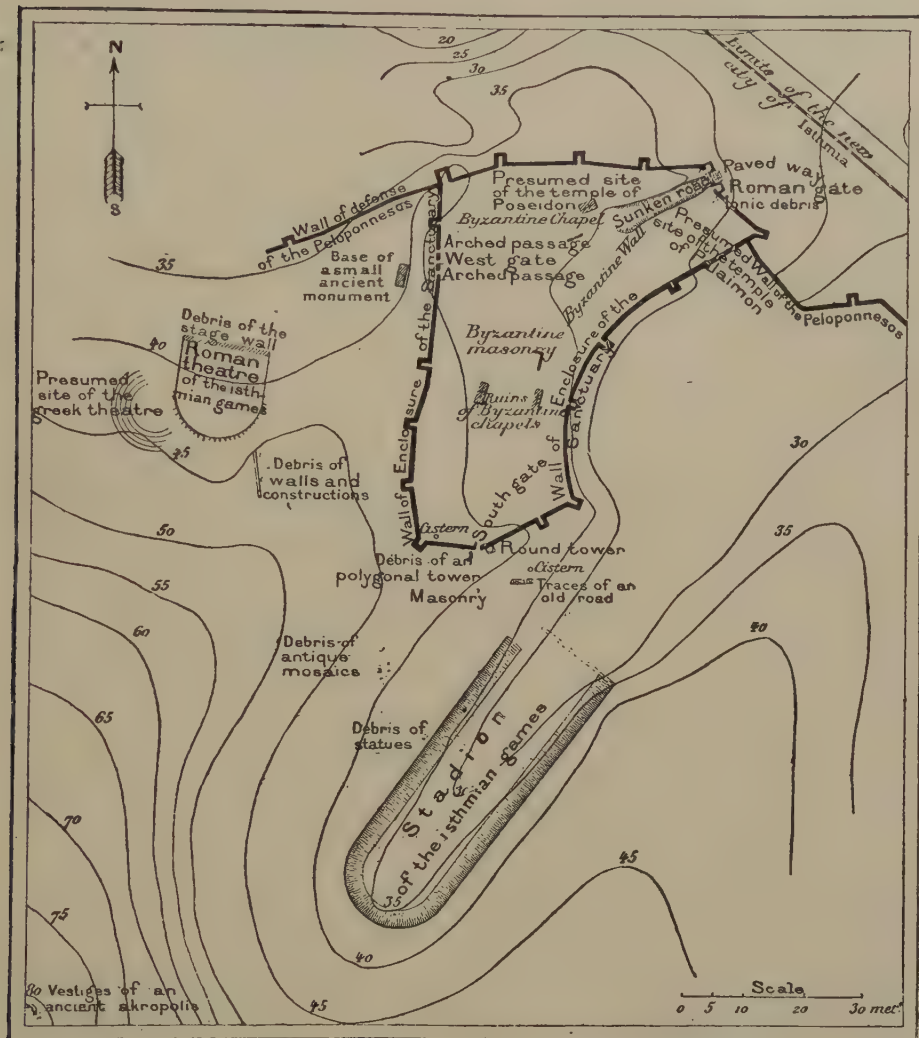
"THE gods," says Pindar, "love the games." Greece as a nation celebrated four, — the Isthmian, near Corinth, in honor of Poseidon;² the Nemean, in Argolis, every second year; and those of Delphi and Olympia, which eclipsed all the rest.

In the beautiful plain of Kirrha the Pythian Games were

¹ *Hippolytos*, 953; Theophrastos, *Characters*, 16, *Δεισιδαιμονίας*, and especially Plato, in the second book of the *Republic*. Later we shall revert to the subject of these brotherhoods.

² Engineers in making a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth, have discovered near the Doric temple of Poseidon and the Ionic temple of Palaimon the remains of small buildings and constructions of various kinds for the use of the priests, athletes, and traders (Monceaux, *Fouilles au sanctuaire des jeux isthmiques*, in the *Gaz. arch.*, 1884, pp. 273 and 354). Beside renowned sanctuaries thus grew up cities at once sacerdotal and mercantile. At Delos, Homolle has discovered the foundations of great storehouses near the temple of Apollo. There must have been also, at the temple of Poseidon, a great crowd of traders, mingling with the devout and the curious.

observed in honor of Apollo, the slayer of the serpent Python. Above the plain lay Delphi, an amphitheatre crowned by Par-



PLAN OF THE AKROPOLIS OF THE ISTHMIAN GAMES.¹

nassos, with its double summit, sung by so many poets. Around the temple stood a crowd of statues in bronze and marble within

¹ From the *Gazette archéologique*, vol. ix. 1884, pl. xxxviii. (cf. pp. 273-285, and 353-363: *Fouilles et recherches archéologiques au sanctuaire des jeux isthmiques*, by Paul Monceaux). This explorer is the first who has made a complete and scientific exploration of the ruins of the sanctuary of the Isthmian Games. Reference should be made to his articles for a detailed explanation of the plan.

the great enclosure containing the offerings of nations, kings, and private individuals. Statues, tripods, basins, splendid vases, heaps of precious metal, formed a treasure of value much exceeding the

BRONZE COIN.¹

sum of ten thousand talents [twelve million dollars], which the Phokidians carried off in the fourth century B. C., when they took the temple. Various small buildings, called treasuries, held

COIN OF KROTONA.²

this wealth; in the Treasury of Corinth were to be seen the gifts of Gyges and of Croesus, kings of Lydia.

The Pythian Games, established in 586 B. C., took place every four years in the third year of each Olympiad.³ This seems to

have been the sacred period of the Greeks, being the same for the festivals of Delos and of Olympia; but the periodic return of the Olympian Games was much the more important of the two, and by it the chronology of Greece was determined. From the

BRONZE COIN.⁴BRONZE COIN.⁵

year 776 B. C. it was the practice to inscribe on a public register in Elis the name of the victor in the foot-race of the stadion. This custom continued without interruption until 301 B. C., and by the names of these victors are designated the successive Olympiads. These games had also the privilege of suspending wars and making

¹ The Isthmian Games, mentioned on a bronze coin of Corinth, with the effigy of the Emperor Hadrian. Surrounded by a laurel-wreath is the word ISTHMIA, in two lines.

² Apollo destroying the serpent Python. A large tripod adorned with fillets; at the left Apollo kneeling and drawing his bow to shoot the Python, which rears itself on the other side of the tripod. Reverse of a coin of Krotona, of which the obverse represents Herakles, the founder of the city. See above, p. 167.

³ See in Sophokles (680-756), a description of the Pythian Games.

⁴ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΑ ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ. Square table on which stands the urn of the games. On the urn is the inscription ΠΥΘΙΑ. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Perinthos in Thrace, with the effigy of Septimius Severus.)

⁵ Reverse of a coin of Delphi, with the effigy of the Emperor Hadrian. Legend: ΔΕΛΦΩΝ. Laurel-wreath, in the centre of which is the word ΠΥΘΙΑ in two lines.

NOTE.—The temple, consecrated to Zeus, represented on the opposite page (from a photograph) was peripteral, and had six columns in front.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF NEMEA.

a sort of "Truce of God" during the time necessary for going to them and returning home,¹—that is to say for a month; and as one of the four great games was celebrated every year, this caused an annual truce which, short though it was, gave importance to sentiments of peace and humanity. Heralds crowned with flowers and leaves went throughout the land, proclaiming in advance the opening of the sacred month; and a heavy fine was exacted from any nation daring to violate it. A Spartan army for invading in 420 B. C. the territory of Elis, after the proclamation of the public peace, was condemned to pay a fine of two *minai* per man [nearly forty dollars]. More than once the Argives repelled an invasion by proclaiming the opening of the Nemean Games. At Sparta, during the festivals of Apollo Karneios, no expedition could be undertaken.

STATUETTE.²

The games consisted in various exercises, all esteemed by the Greeks, although to us moderns they seem to differ greatly in merit, and all sanctified by religion, which represented a god or hero presiding over each. In the *pentathlon*, "the five matches," the following was the order. In the *άλμα* (leaping) any number might contend. Those who were successful in crossing a fixed space were then allowed to throw the spear. The more successful four at this encounter strove with each other in a foot-race, and the poorest runner being dismissed, the remaining three then tried their skill in throwing the

¹ In the time of Pausanias (v. 20, 1) there was to be seen at Olympia the disk of Iphitos, around the edge of which is engraved the law establishing this truce.

² Leto fleeing with her two children from the serpent Python. Marble statuette of the Museum Torlonia (from T. Schreiber, *Apollon Pythoktonos*, pl. i. no. 1, and p. 74). This statue, very much mutilated, has been successfully restored. It is interesting to compare it with the coin of Tripolis, p. 316, and the vase represented on p. 322.

diskos; finally, two were matched against each other in wrestling.¹ To these exercises were added horse and chariot races, and contests in music and poetry. Music at that time employed but very few

and poor instruments; it was, however, regarded as a powerful means of culture, and we shall see later that to it was attributed a great moral and even political influence.



BRONZE COIN.²

The prize so ardently striven for was neither of gold nor silver nor brass; a wreath of laurel or of wild olive-leaves was the reward of the victor. The divinity, invisible spectator of these games, was not

willing to have any idea of lucre mingled with the joy of a victory gained in his name. But in whatever contest a man won the prize, it was to him and to his native city a most distinguished honor. Returning home, he passed through the streets in a splendid chariot; walls were pulled down to give him passage; he received immunity from taxation, and the first seat at games and theatrical performances;³ his name was in all

¹ Pinder, *Ueber den Fünfkampf*, Berlin, 1867. The Dorians, founders or organizers of the Olympic Games, did not admit to them the contests in music and poetry which took place at the Ionian festival of Delos, and, with special splendor, at the Pythian Games. The Athenians, on the other hand, disdained hand-to-hand struggles, and their Eupatrids would take part only in the horse and chariot races. (Ott. Müller, *Ægin.*, p. 141.) The *pankration*, established later, was a boxing and wrestling match in which all the powers of the fighter were called into action. Inscriptions found in the valley and bed of the Alpheios show the sacerdotal body of Olympia in office at the close of the third century of the Christian era. Eleusis had also its games. An inscription recently discovered, with the date 329 B. C., shows that these included gymnastic, equestrian, and musical contests, and we know that there was at Eleusis a theatre, and hence contests in poetry. Cf. *Bull. de corr. hellén.*, 1884, p. 200. The Olympic festivals were abolished by Theodosius in 394 A. D.

² The palms of the Games. ΤΑΡΣΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ Α Μ Κ Γ Β. Square table on which stands the vase of the games, containing palms. On the urn is inscribed ΟΙΚΟY-MENIKA. Under the table is the urn for votes. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Tarsos, with the effigy of the Emperor Gordian the Pious.)

³ An inscription of Lindos, in the Island of Rhodes, enumerates the honors accorded to a citizen, — a public eulogy, a statue, the right to wear a wreath during the annual festival of the city, and to have the first place at public games (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, 1885, p. 98). This custom of special seats at the theatre was known at Rome; but the *bisellium* was not the recompense of a victory in the Olympic Games, it was habitually assigned to a donor to the games, and was given in the hope of instigating further gifts.

NOTE. — The Diskobolos, represented on the opposite page (from a photograph) is a statue now in the Vatican. It is generally considered a copy of the famous Diskobolos of Myron. The Athenian sculptor Myron lived about the Eightieth Olympiad. He was, like Pheidias, a pupil of the Argive Ageladas and a contemporary of Kalamis.



THE DISKOBOLOS.

men's mouths; poets sang of him, painters and sculptors reproduced his likeness to adorn public places, avenues, or porticos of temples.¹ Fathers were known to die of joy in welcoming victorious sons. At Athens Solon had instituted that a sum of five hundred drachmas should be given to a victor in the games. Of all recompenses none had a more heroic character than that which

VICTORIOUS ATHLETE.²HEAD OF ZEUS.³

Sparta gave. At the next battle the most perilous post, the honor of braving the greatest danger for his country, was reserved for him who had conquered at Olympia.

In justice to the Greeks we should remember that they gave a higher meed to poets than to athletes. At the Pythian Games Pindar was compelled by the whole assembly to seat himself above the crowd, lyre in hand, the wreath on his head, and sing, amid the enthusiastic applause of his countrymen; a share was reserved for him in the first-fruits offered to the immortals; and after his death

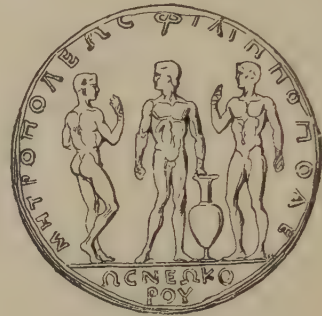
¹ To have his statue placed at Olympia, a man must have been thrice victorious (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 9).

² Marble from Olympia. From *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, vol. v. pl. xx. Idealized head of a victor in the *pankration* or in boxing, as appears from the swollen ears. The head is surrounded with a fillet, not with a wreath of olive-leaves. Cf., p. 277, another head of a victor of Olympia.

³ Terra-cotta from Olympia. From *Die Ausgrabungen*, vol. iv., pl. xxvi. B.

the throne on which he had been seated at the games was placed among the statues of the gods at the temple at Olympia. Archilochos and Simonides received like honors. At times also some illustrious spectator drew the public gaze from the arena and became himself the object of general attention. Themistokles, Pythagoras, Herodotos, and Plato received this honor; and the Athenian general acknowledged that this was one of the happiest moments of his life.¹

At these games a great crowd gathered from Greece, the colonies, and foreign lands, but only Greeks were admitted to take part in them. Alexander I. of Macedon, wishing to contend in the sta-

THE OLYMPIC GAMES.²ATHLETES.³

dion, was obliged to prove his Hellenic origin. He was not the only king who aspired to the glory of an Olympic victory. On the list of victors we read the names of Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuse; of Theron, king of Agrigentum; of Archelaos, king of Macedon; of Pausanias, king of Sparta.⁴ Perfect equality prevailed at these games; neither birth nor fortune gave any man

¹ Gorgias, Prodikos, Anaximenes, Polos of Agrigentum, Lysias, Isokrates, Dion Chrysostom, read at the games some portions of their works; Echion exhibited a picture, and Oinopides of Chios his astronomical tables.

² ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΙΟΥΛΑ ΑΝΘΙΜΟΥ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Square table, on which are placed two vases containing palms. Between them a wreath, with the inscription, ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ. Under the table many vases and objects connected with the games. (Reverse of a bronze medallion of Pergamos, with the effigy of Caracalla.)

³ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ. Three nude athletes standing, their hands bound with the leather thongs used in pugilism, seem awaiting the signal. The one in the middle has his hand on the voting-urn. (Reverse of a bronze medallion of Philippopolis in Thrace, with the effigy of Caracalla.)

⁴ For chariot and horse races it was not necessary to take part personally; Alkibiades offered seven chariots at once in his own name.





IA.



advantage. All, whether rich or poor, obscure or noble, might enter; but to be of free birth was an imperative condition, and to have committed no dishonorable action, — into these things the herald made public inquiry before the contest. There was equality, on condition of virtue and honor. The greater the crowd, the more was the rejoicing, in the thought that the number of virtuous citizens was so large.

If any disorder occurred, the Hellanodikoi immediately repressed it; the rod of their servitors fell impartially on the shoulders of



GENII OF THE ATHLETIC GAMES.¹

the noble or the poor. Lichas, one of the chief men of Sparta, was thus publicly beaten. Women were rigorously excluded, under penalty of death.

The Olympic Games began with the full moon. The sports could thus be carried on by night as well as day, under the clear Greek sky, more luminous by night than those of our more northern regions often are in the daytime.

Such were the games so famous in antiquity. They formed a bond for all the Greek States, obliging them to lay aside their animosities on the borders of the sacred territory, and inviting them to forget this hatred when they returned home. More than once States were reconciled or made alliance in the midst of these solemnities, and the herald read aloud their treaty, which was later

¹ Marble bas-relief, in the Louvre. (Cf. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, vol. ii., first part, pp. 605 and 614.) The hermes at the left seems to indicate that the exercises represented take place in a palaestra; they consist of throwing the diskos, wrestling, the pankration, and boxing. At the left is a pavidotribos, a fillet on his head; next, are two diskoboloi, of whom one prepares to throw the diskos, and the other looks afar off to see the result. (For the attitude of the first, see the statue represented on p. 385.) Then two figures are wrestling, watched by a third. In the centre a victorious athlete is placing a wreath on his head. At his right is a flute-player; at his left, the judge, holding a palm. Next, are two figures representing the pankration, and lastly two pugilists, superintended by a third figure.

engraved on a column placed on the spot. The sentiment of Panhellenism, so often forgotten, awoke in its strength at these games, as when Herodotos read to the sons the story of their fathers' exploits in defence of the common liberty, or when Lysias called upon



HEADING OF A DECREE OF PROXENIA.¹

them to take arms against the two-fold danger threatening from East and West, — the king of Persia, and the tyrant of Syracuse.

A taste for these exercises, salutary both to mind and body, was maintained among the Greeks by the Olympic Games, — salutary to the body, rendering it supple and strong by that prolonged training which, developing strength and skill, prepared the soldier of Marathon and Thermopylai; salutary to the mind, which is freer and more energetic in a body sound and well-trained than when

¹ Relief carved at the head of a decree of Athenian *proxenia* (from Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, pl. xxi. No. 93). The decree (*Corpus inscript. Attic.*, ii. 69) was made, during the archonship of Kallistratos (355–354 B. C.), in honor of Philiskos of Séstos, who had merited the gratitude of the city by hastening to announce to the Athenians the approach of a hostile fleet. Philiskos is represented on a galloping horse, bringing the news. In front of him stands Athene Parthenos; at her side is her shield, around which is coiled a serpent; in her hand a small Victory; the goddess is looking at a figure of lesser height in attitude of adoration. This is Philiskos, and the goddess represents the city. Philiskos and his descendants received the title of *proxenoi*, and also of “benefactors.” Under the bas-relief we read: *Προξενία καὶ εὐεργεσία Φιλίσκου Λύκου, αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγύνοις Σηστιοῖς*. On the subject of the *proxenia*, see Monceaux, *Les Proxénies grecques*, Paris, 1886. Two interesting lists are subjoined: 1st, a chronological list of Athenian *proxenoi*; 2d, a chronological list of representatives of foreign cities at Athens.

it acts through a feeble and disordered physical organization.¹ Art also and morals gained. Plato speaks of many men whom the desire to gain the Olympic wreath had preserved from physical excesses of every kind, and compelled to a life of the strictest virtue.² The sculptor and the painter had before their eyes a race whom this life had made the most beautiful in the world, and encouragements such as no other nation ever offered; for men came to the games not only to witness deeds of physical strength, but also to admire the productions of artists. In the Altis,³ a vast enclosure around the temple of Zeus at Olympos, stood countless statues,

¹ *Mens sana in corpore sano* (Juvenal, x. 356). The secular games were of very much later date. Themistokles established cock-fights, and at Sounion there were regattas of triremes.

² *Laws*, viii. 7.

³ *Altis*, from ἄλσος, *sacred wood*; it was a sacred grove of wild olive-trees (κότινος). It has been already said that the victors at the Olympic Games received a wreath of olive-leaves. (See p. 384.) The Germans have lately (from 1875 to 1881) made very important excavations at Olympia, of which the results have been published by the Government under the title, *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia, Uebersicht der Arbeiten und Funde, von 1875-1881*. From the last volume of this work we have borrowed the plan of the excavation here given. (Cf. the work of A. Bötticher, *Olympia, das Fest und seine Stätte*, Berlin, 1883.) These excavations have brought to light a great number of buildings, of very different dates, from the Heraion to the palace of Nero and the exedra of Atticus Herodes. To speak only of those contained in the Altis, the most ancient of all was the Heraion, or temple of Here, which was long the only temple at Olympia (Pausanias, v. 16, 1). This was a Doric temple, of which the columns were originally wooden; one of them was standing as late as the time of Pausanias. They were by degrees replaced by columns of stone. The whole entablature was of wood. The Pelopeion, or sacred enclosure of Pelops, as well as most of the Treasuries, were of earlier date than the Median wars. (See p. 84, the plan of the Treasuries of Olympia.)

The temple of Zeus was built in the first half of the fifth century B. C. French *savants* of the expedition to the Morea had begun, as early as 1829, interesting excavations; and this building is now completely brought to light. Like the older Olympian edifices, it is built of a shell conglomerate very abundant in the neighborhood. The architect, Libo, was moreover a native of Elis. The temple was Doric and peripteral, with six columns in front and thirteen on the sides. Its dimensions in Greek feet are as follows: its length, measured on the stylobate, was 206.7 feet; its width, 90.01; the columns, which were covered with stucco, were 38.5 feet in height, 7.2 in diameter, and had twenty flutings; the cella was 147.95 feet long and 51.51 wide. Famous sculptors and painters were employed in the decoration of this building. Pausanias, the brother of Pheidias, decorated the cella; Paionios of Mende executed the statues of the eastern pediment, representing the race of Pelops and Ainomaos. Alkamenes, the rival of Pheidias, represented on the western pediment the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs. Many of these sculptures have been recovered, and are among the most admirable specimens of antique art. (See the two metopes in Vol. I. pp. 206-207.) Grandest of all was the chryselephantine statue of Zeus, nearly sixty feet in height, the work of Pheidias, which was placed in the interior of the sanctuary.

Around this magnificent temple, before the great altar of Zeus, 22 feet in height, the splendid pageant of the Greek games took place century after century, and called together the Greeks from every known country, until they ceased in 394 A. D., by order of the Emperor Theodosius. Let us picture to ourselves that consecrated space, crowded with altars, statues, and marble groups, the work of the most renowned artists of Greece. Many vases have been

many of them masterpieces, and all awakening glorious memories. It would not be too much to say that at these games the Greek genius was formed. In the midst of this great concourse of men from all lands—some coming to see, or to be seen and admired; others to sell all kinds of commodities; others to attract public attention by their improvisations or by their ingenious sophisms—

SILVER COIN.¹

the Greeks gained that eminently social character, that eagerness for novelties, exemption from prejudice, and readiness to receive knowledge from every quarter, which made them the great innovators, and their country the great school of politics and philosophy.

How far removed from these singing bands,—from these solemn embassies coming to the shores of the Alpheios and to the foot of Parnassos in their splendid chariots, or to Delos in their gilded vessels with sails of Tyrian purple,—from these horse and chariot races,—from these contests in poetry and music, and these sacred dances,—how far removed from all these beautiful ceremonies are the Roman pageants, where any festival was joyless unless blood flowed under the gladiator's sword or the lion's paw!

Another intellectual force, another glory of Greece which was unknown to Rome, and of which we shall speak later, is the drama, born upon temple steps in the midst of religious festivals. Tragedy, at first a part of the worship of the gods, was for a time in Greece a school of morals. In the dramas of Aischylos and Sophokles, mythology laid aside its impure phases, and ethical teaching rises in the works of Euripides also to a great height.

found, as well as a few statues, the most important of which are the Nike of Paionios, and the Hermes carrying the infant Dionysos, of Praxiteles. The statue of Paionios was E. S. E. from the temple of Zeus; that of Praxiteles stood in the Heraion. East of the Altis was the main entrance to the Stadion, reserved for the judges and the agonists. Excavations have given us the exact length of the Olympic stadion, one of the most important measures of antiquity, namely, 630 feet, 6 inches. The Greek foot is one six-hundredth part of this. The Hippodrome, south of the Stadion, and parallel to it, has been almost entirely destroyed by the river. For descriptions of the other buildings and a detailed explanation of the plan, the reader is referred to the works mentioned above. [Also to *The Dimensions and Proportions of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia*, by Charles Eliot Norton, in the *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. v., new series, part i., art. 7; and *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, by Charles Thomas Newton (Macmillan, 1880). — Ed.]

¹ Archaic Boiotian coin, *in genere*. The Boiotian shield. Reverse: incused square. On Boiotian coins, see Barclay V. Head, *On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Bæotia* (London, 1881).

This century, nourishing men's minds with strong religious thought, made worthy preparation for that in which the sentiment of patriotic duty was to work miracles, and the muscles trained in the exercises of the Stadion were to strike such effectual blows in battle. And yet philosophy, beginning its destructive work, had already said, by the voice of Xenophanes:¹ "The most famous Olympian victor is less worthy than the philosopher. Our wisdom is more precious than the strength of a man's arm; and he who gains the prize of the pentathlon is not thereby the better able to rule a State." This is true; but at Marathon and Thermopylai would the hair-splitters of the school of Elis have done better than did Miltiades and Leonidas?

In closing this examination of the general institutions of Greece, I am obliged to acknowledge that while these customs—amphiktyonies, oracles, national festivals, union of several cities, ties of hospitality between private individuals, proxenia, or public hospitality granted by a city to some inhabitant of another city²—had a great influence upon men's minds, they had very little upon public affairs. In the Greek world there was moral unity, but political unity remained unknown. At Olympia, at Delphi, men were brothers, they were Hellenes, they worshipped the same gods, they loved the same arts, and chanted the pæan of Apollo or the dithyramb of Dionysos,—the two divinities giving poetic inspiration.³ Outside the sacred territory these men were again enemies. At the distance of a few steps from his native city the citizen found a foreign land, where, unless by special stipulations,⁴ he

¹ Bergk, 367.

² The title of *proxenos*, or public guest of the State, was not merely an honor, it frequently secured advantages. (See Monceaux, *Les Proxénies grecques*, pp. 92 *et seq.*) Numerous decrees of proxenia declared the proxenos inviolable, even in time of war, and granted him exemption (*ἀρέλεια*) from duties on exports and imports, which among a population of traffickers must have been of great profit. These privileges were hereditary in the family of the proxenos (Xenophon, *Hellen.*, vi. 3). In turn, he was expected in his own country to lodge the delegates and advocate the interests of the city which had, in a degree, adopted him. It is manifest that to the Greek proxenia, which is known to have been a custom as early as the eighth century B. C. (Pausanias, iv. 4; Böckh, *C. I. G.*, No. 4), corresponds the "patronship" of great families in Rome towards foreign States or nations. In respect to the rôle of patrons of peoples and cities in Greece, see Le Bas and Foucart, *Inscr. du Péloponn.*, 339 a.

³ These two divinities are represented on the beautiful vase from Kertsch, facing p. 333.

⁴ Cf. S. Reinach, *Épig. grecque*, p. 364. Among other privileges, Athenian *proxenoi* often received the right of holding a house and lands, *ἐγκτησις γῆς καὶ οἰκίας*.

could not acquire real estate, contract marriage, or sue in the courts; and how often he found there war and slavery! How often were heard "the lamentations of dying captives, and maidens and matrons, driven away like a herd of cattle, . . . were seen to begin the hated journey into exile!"¹

Hence, the incomparable splendor in the sphere of intellect of this Greek world, at once so united and so diverse; and hence, also, its political weakness. Facing the formidable army of Xerxes, the Greeks united and conquered; against Macedon and against Rome, they remained divided, and were vanquished. Under Alexander their union briefly gave them supremacy over the Eastern world.

¹ Aischylos, in *The Seven Chiefs*, paints, in the words of the young Theban women, the horrors of these endless wars.

² Painting on the bottom of a cup from Vulci (from the *Museo Gregoriano*, vol. ii. pl. lxxiii. 2 a). An amazon, armed with helmet, cuirass, and shield, and holding a lance in her left hand, advances to the left, blowing a long martial trumpet.



AN AMAZON.²

THIRD PERIOD.

THE MEDIAN WARS (492-479 B. C.),—UNION AND VICTORIES.

CHAPTER XVI.

FIRST MEDIAN WAR (492-490).

I.—REVOLT OF IONIA.

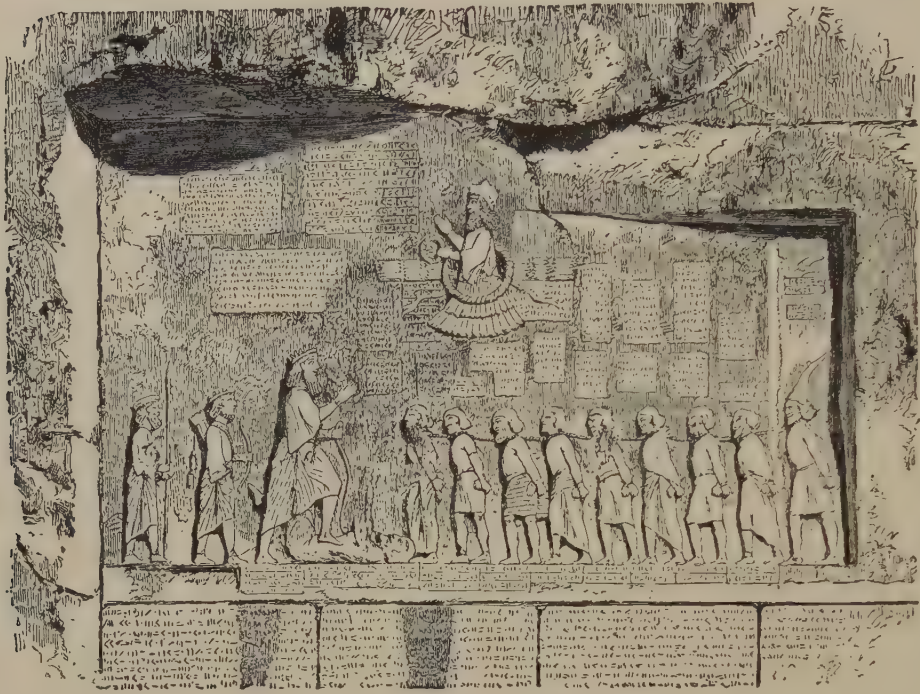
HERODOTOS, who was born during the Median wars, in 484 B. C., wondering greatly at this tremendous conflict between the Greek and the barbaric worlds, sought its causes in times more remote than the Trojan war, even in the mythologic period. For us it is not necessary to go back so far, and recall the abduction of Io and of Helen by Asiatics, and of Europa and Medeia by Greeks, to explain the origin of this animosity. The escape of Demokedes, the Greek physician of Darius, who deceived the king that he might return to his native land, and the desire of Atossa to have Spartan women among her slaves, are but trivial incidents. The appeals of Hippias to be re-established in Athens, and of the Aleuadaï of Thessaly to be aided against their enemies, had a more serious influence. But the true cause lay in the power of the Persian empire itself, which had at that



RAPE OF EUROPA.¹

¹ Europa, on the bull which carries her across the water. The nymph with one hand holds a wreath, and with the other the horns of the animal. (Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*. Agate-onyx of two layers, 30 millim. by 31. No. 7 of the *Catalogue*.)

time attained its natural limits. On nearly all sides it was shut in by deserts, the sea, large rivers, or lofty mountains. Only on the northwest was there an opportunity to extend itself, and that



DARIUS, CONQUEROR OF THE MAGIAN.¹

way lay a famous country, Greece, whose independence irritated the pride of the Great King. Cyrus had conquered Asia; Cambyses, a part of Africa; Darius, not to be left behind, attacked Europe.

¹ Bas-relief of the rock of Bisoutoun, from *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x. pl. i. (Sir H. C. Rawlinson.) Darius, followed by an archer and a spearman, is trampling upon the Magian Gaumâtâ, who vainly entreats for mercy. Behind the false Smerdis are nine other usurpers, who are conquered and chained. In the 11th paragraph of column i. of the inscription we read: "Darius the king said: There was at this time a Magian named Gaumâtâ. He made an insurrection in Pisiagada. . . . He deceived the people by these words: 'I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses.' Then all the people rebelled and went to meet him, deserting Cambyses, both Persia and Media and all the provinces. He seized upon the empire." § 13 (close): "Then I prayed unto Ormuzd, and he sent me aid. There is a castle named Sikhtauvatis in the land of Nesaia in Media; there I killed him. I took from him the empire. By the will of Ormuzd I became king, Ormuzd conferred the empire upon me." After becoming king, Darius had to contend against the other usurpers represented in the bas-relief, mentioned by name in the inscription. For the death of the Magian, see a cylinder, without inscription, published by J. Mélan, *Recherches sur la glyptique orientale*, pt. ii. pl. 9, fig. 1, and p. 168, fig. 147.

Already the satrap of Sardis, Artaphernes, had replied to the overtures of Kleisthenes by demanding that Athens should submit herself to the Great King. Darius had reorganized his empire and re-established in his provinces the tranquillity which had been so disturbed by the usurpation of the Magian and the efforts of the conquered nations to recover their liberty; it was important, moreover, to find scope for the warlike ardor which the Persians still retained. He therefore made ready for a great expedition.

SCYTHIAN ARCHERS.¹

The Scythians had formerly invaded Asia; the recollection of that injury and the desire of subjugating Thrace, which lay adjacent to his own empire, decided Darius which route to take.

SCYTHIAN WARRIORS.²

He set out from Susa with a numerous army, crossed the Bosphoros on a bridge of boats which the Samian Mandrokles had built, and entered Europe, bringing with him seven or eight hundred thousand men, among whom were Asiatic Greeks, commanded by the tyrants of the different cities. He traversed Thrace, crossed the Istros (Danube) on a bridge of boats which he left the Greeks

¹ Plaque of stamped gold found at Kertsch; from the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Atlas, pt. xx. No. 6.

² Scene represented on a vase of electrum, in *repoussé*, discovered at Kertsch; from the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. xxxiii. The scene occurs in a field where flowers are blooming: two warriors at the left are conversing; one is seated, leaning on his lance, at his belt hangs his bow; the second sits on the ground, and leans on his lance and shield. Next to them, an archer bends his bow; and two men are receiving aid, one wounded in the mouth, the other in the foot. These four have no weapons but their bow.

to protect, and plunged into Scythia in pursuit of an enemy whom it was impossible to reach. Darius had said to the Greeks that after sixty days they should no longer expect him; this time having passed, and no news of him arriving, the Athenian Miltiades,



DOUBLE GOLD DARIC.¹

tyrant of the Chersonesos, proposed to destroy the bridge, thus to prevent the entrance into Thrace of the Scythians, whom he supposed victorious, or with the intention of abandoning to them the Persian army if it yet existed. His-

taios of Miletos opposed this, representing to the chiefs, who were all tyrants of Greek cities, that they would infallibly be deposed on their return home if they lost the support of the Great King. This argument proved successful, and it saved Darius, who, returning from his vain pursuit of the Scythians, left eighty thousand men to Megabazos, that this general might complete the conquest of Thrace, and also subjugate Macedon (508?).

Megabazos made conquest of Perinthos, subdued the Thracians and Paionia, and called upon the king of Macedon for the homage of earth and water. Amyntas gave it, and Megabazos was able to report to his master that the empire of the Persians now touched upon European Greece. Here the expedition stopped. The services of Histaïos were recompensed by the gift of a vast territory on the banks of the Strymon. The site had been wisely chosen, in the neighborhood of the gold and silver mines of Mount Pangaion, at the foot of a range of hills abounding in building woods, and near the mouth of a river which gave an excellent harbor on the Ægean Sea; Myrkinos, which Histaïos built there, would shortly have attained the prosperity found by Amphipolis later in the same place, had not Megabazos, alarmed, warned the king that this Greek must be withdrawn from the enterprises that he meditated; thereupon Histaïos was called to Sardis, under pretext of being needed for important consultations. On his arrival, Darius

¹ The king of Persia, bearded, wearing the tiara and the Persian tunic called *candys*. Facing to the right and kneeling on one knee, he has his quiver on his shoulder, and holds a bow and a spear. Behind him is a wreath; before him the mint-mark M. Reverse: a field adorned with irregular striae. This coin is perhaps as old as the time of Darius, the son of Hystaspes; it seems to have been minted at Tarsos.

merely declared to him that he could not do without his friendship and advice, and Histaïos was obliged to accept these gilded chains.

A few years passed by in profound peace, and then a trivial matter and an obscure man set everything in a blaze. Naxos, the largest of the Cyclades, was at that time an important State, ruling over many islands, possessing a considerable navy, and being able to send into the field eight thousand heavy armed infantry. Unfortunately Naxos, like every other Greek State, had two parties, — the popular and the aristocratic factions. The latter ruined themselves by an unpardonable crime, like that to which Lucretia fell a victim about the same time in Rome. Expelled from the

SILVER COIN.¹SEAL OF DARIUS.²

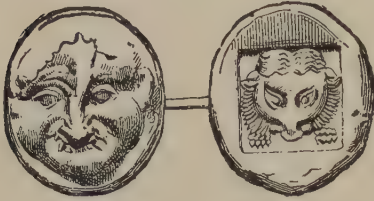
island, they proposed to Aristagoras, son-in-law of Histaïos, and in his absence tyrant of Miletos, to bring them back to Naxos. He welcomed the project with ardor, already beholding the Cyclades, and perhaps Eubœia, subject to his authority. But an enterprise so important he could not accomplish alone; and he succeeded in inter-

esting the satrap of Sardis, Artaphernes, who put at his disposal a fleet of two hundred vessels, under the command of the Persian Megabazos. This Persian shortly became offended at being placed under the orders of a Greek. A quarrel broke out

¹ Double Persian siele. Achaemenid king standing in his war-chariot, driven by a charioteer. Behind the chariot an officer, probably a satrap, carrying a sceptre, and an amphora; in the field the Phœnician letters $\gamma\eta$, as yet unexplained. Reverse: a Phœnician galley, on which is seen a warrior; in the field the mark III.

² Cylinder of burned chalcedony, in the British Museum; from J. Méant, *Recherches sur la glyptique orientale*, second part, p. 166, fig. 145. "On a chariot drawn by a horse, which springs forward at a gallop and is driven by the charioteer, the king advances to attack a lion rampant in front of him, and already wounded by the arrows; another lion lies under the horse's feet. The scene occurs between two palm-trees; in the field above the king is the symbol of Ormuzd, the human bust with ornithomorphous appendages." The trilingual inscription in Persian, Median, and Assyrian is: "I am Darius the king," or "I am Darius the Great King." This king, according to Méant, is Darius the son of Hystaspes.

between them, and Megabazos, to retaliate for an affront, warned the Naxians. The success of the expedition depended upon secrecy; being made known, it failed. Aristagoras persisted in it four months, spending all his treasures and those which the king had

SILVER COIN.¹

given him for the enterprise. He feared that he should be required to make good this loss. Revolt seemed to offer better chances, and secret encouragement from Histaïos decided him. The army which he had led to Naxos still held together, and all the

tyrants of the cities of the Asiatic coast were with it; he made them all prisoners, sent them back to their respective cities, where they were put to death or received sentence of exile, and established democracy everywhere (499 B. C.). Having done this, it was now necessary to attach to himself some powerful ally; and he accordingly visited Sparta. Kleomenes

the king inquired of him how great was the distance from the sea-coast to the Persian capital. "Three months' march," replied Aristagoras. "If that is the case," the king said, "you will leave this city

STAT.ER.²

to-morrow. It is madness to propose to a Spartan army to go three months' march away from the sea." Aristagoras essayed the power of a bribe; but this time Spartan virtue was incorruptible, and the Ionian went to Athens. Being allowed to speak in the assembly, he dwelt upon the riches of Persia, the advantage Greek soldiers would have over an enemy that knew not the use of spear or shield, and finally reminded his audience that Miletos was a colony of Athens. The Athenians had more than one cause of complaint against the Persians. The demand for earth and water made

¹ Coin of Eretria (Eubœia). Gorgon's head, front face. Reverse: lion's head, front face, resting on the two fore-paws of the animal. It is not certain that this coin is Eretrian. See Barclay V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Central Greece*, p. 121.

² Gold coin of Ephesos. Bust of Artemis, right profile, with bow and quiver on her shoulder. Reverse: ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. The Ephesian Artemis standing, her hand extended and adorned with long chains reaching to the ground; the head surmounted with a modios, and surrounded with a radiate nimbus; at her side a stag and a bee, her usual attributes.

lately to their ambassadors, the shelter given to Hippias, and the order to call home the tyrant given in reply to their remonstrances, had profoundly wounded their pride. Aristagoras had but little difficulty in persuading them to carry the war into the enemy's country, thus removing from their own territory a danger with which they felt themselves to be menaced; doubtless also they believed that it was only a private quarrel between the satrap and Aristagoras. They decreed that twenty vessels should be despatched; and to this force were added five triremes from Eretria, which State, formerly aided by Miletos in a war against Chalkis, now gave back assistance in turn. The allies reached Ephesos, and thence Sardis, which they took and pillaged. The houses were thatched with reeds; a soldier accidentally set a roof on fire, and the whole city, except the citadel where Artaphernes had taken refuge, was consumed, together with a temple of Kybele, — venerated as much by the Persians as by the Lydians (498 B. C.). Meanwhile Artaphernes had recalled the army which was besieging Miletos, and the troops of the province gathered from every side: the Athenians began to think of retreat. A defeat which they suffered upon Ephesian territory, and perhaps some treasonable proceedings, completed their disaffection. They took ship and returned to Athens, leaving their allies to extricate themselves as best they could from the unfortunate position in which they were.

SILVER COIN.¹

The Ionians continued the war; having made alliance with all the cities of the Hellespont and of the Propontis, with Chalkedon and Byzantion, the Karians and the Island of Cyprus. The Persians raised several armies: one, at first sent northward against the cities of the Hellespont, took several places, then turned southward against the Karians, who lost two battles and surrendered. Another attacked Cyprus with the Phœnician fleet, which the Ionians defeated; but the treachery of a Cypriot chief gave the island into the hands of the Persians. In the centre advanced Artaphernes and Otanes, capturing Klazomenai and

¹ Drachma of Miletos. Laurelled head of Apollo, left profile. Reverse: lion standing with reverted head; before him, the monogram of Miletos; above him, a star. In the exergue ΙΟΠΟΜΗΟ[Υ], name of magistrate.

Kyme, and then threatening Miletos, the last protection of Ionia. Here Aristagoras was no longer in command, having basely escaped to Myrkinos, and shortly after he was killed in an attack upon a Thracian city. Histaïos had meanwhile been able to deceive Darius by promises, and obtain his liberty; but the people of Miletos had no liking for tyrants, and refused to receive him. Collecting a few followers from Mytilene, he entered on a career of piracy, and perished in a descent on the Asiatic coast. The Ionians, assembled at the Panionion, deliberated as to the means of saving Miletos. It was decided to risk a naval battle. Chios furnished a hundred vessels, Lesbos seventy, Samos sixty, Miletos herself eighty; the whole fleet amounted to three hundred and fifty-three, and the Persians had six hundred.

On board the Greek fleet there was a man of ability who would have saved Ionia if she had been willing to be saved; this was a Phokaian, Dionysios by name. He urged upon the



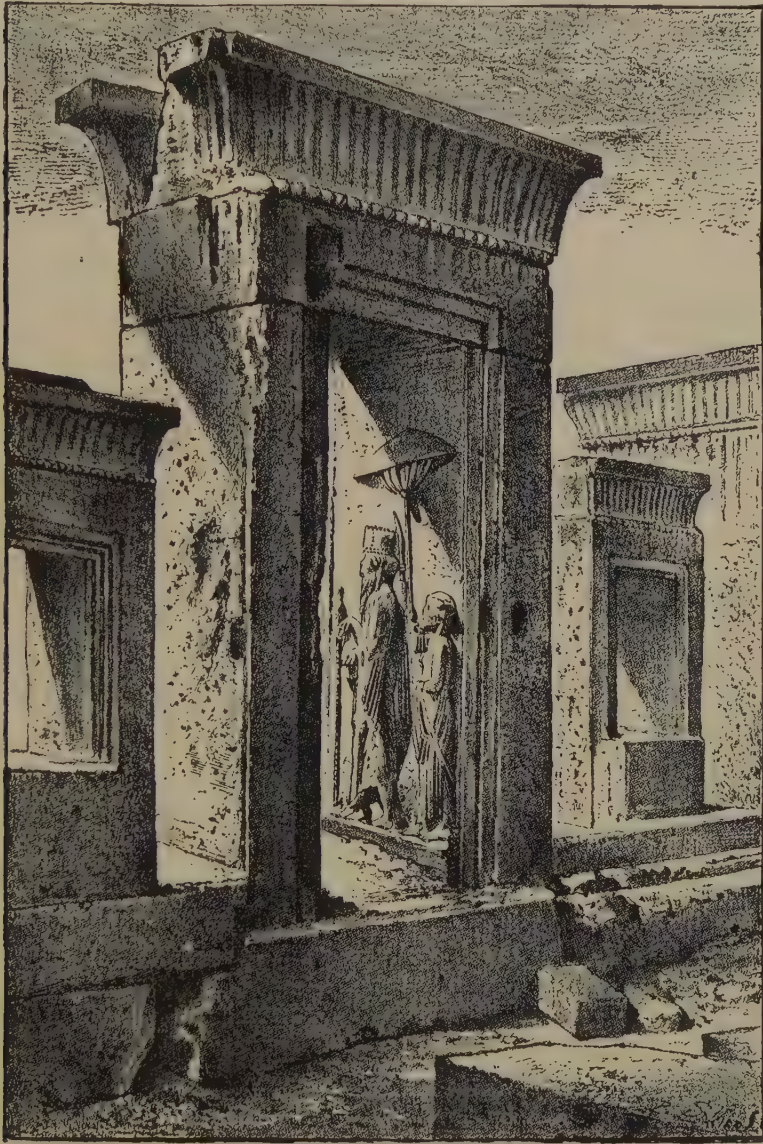
COIN OF MESEMBRIA.¹

allies the necessity of rigorous discipline and drill in the principal manœuvres of naval warfare, and for seven days the entire fleet submitted to his orders. But at the end of that time the Ionians, unaccustomed to toil, and worn down by these

hardships and the heat of the sun, refused to obey longer; they landed, pitched tents, and lay all day idly in the shade. Shortly treason broke out among them; and on the day of battle the Samians withdrew from the line and steered for their own island. The Ionians were defeated, notwithstanding the heroic courage of the sailors of Chios and the gallantry of Dionysios, who himself took three of the enemy's vessels. When he saw that the battle was lost, he sailed directly for Phœnicia, attacked and disabled some merchant vessels, and thus obtaining great wealth, sailed for Sicily. He there established himself as a pirate, and spent the rest of his life in plundering Phœnician, Carthaginian, and Tyrrhenian vessels.

¹ Helmet, front view. Reverse: META (Μεταμβριανών). A wheel. The letters of the legend are placed between the spokes. (Bronze). The form of the sibilant T is remarkable; it is seen also on an inscription of Halikarnassos.

All hope for Miletos was lost; the city was taken, most of the men were killed, the women and children were made slaves,



PORTRAIT OF KING DARIUS.¹

and the few survivors were in the end transported by Darius to Ampe, at the mouth of the Tigris (494 B. C.). Chios, Lesbos, and

¹ Portrait of the Great King, on one of the gates of his palace, from Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, vol. ii. pl. 16. The king wears a long plaited garment, with loose hanging sleeves; his beard and hair are in ringlets; on his head is a cylindrical tiara. Behind him an attendant holds an umbrella over the king's head.

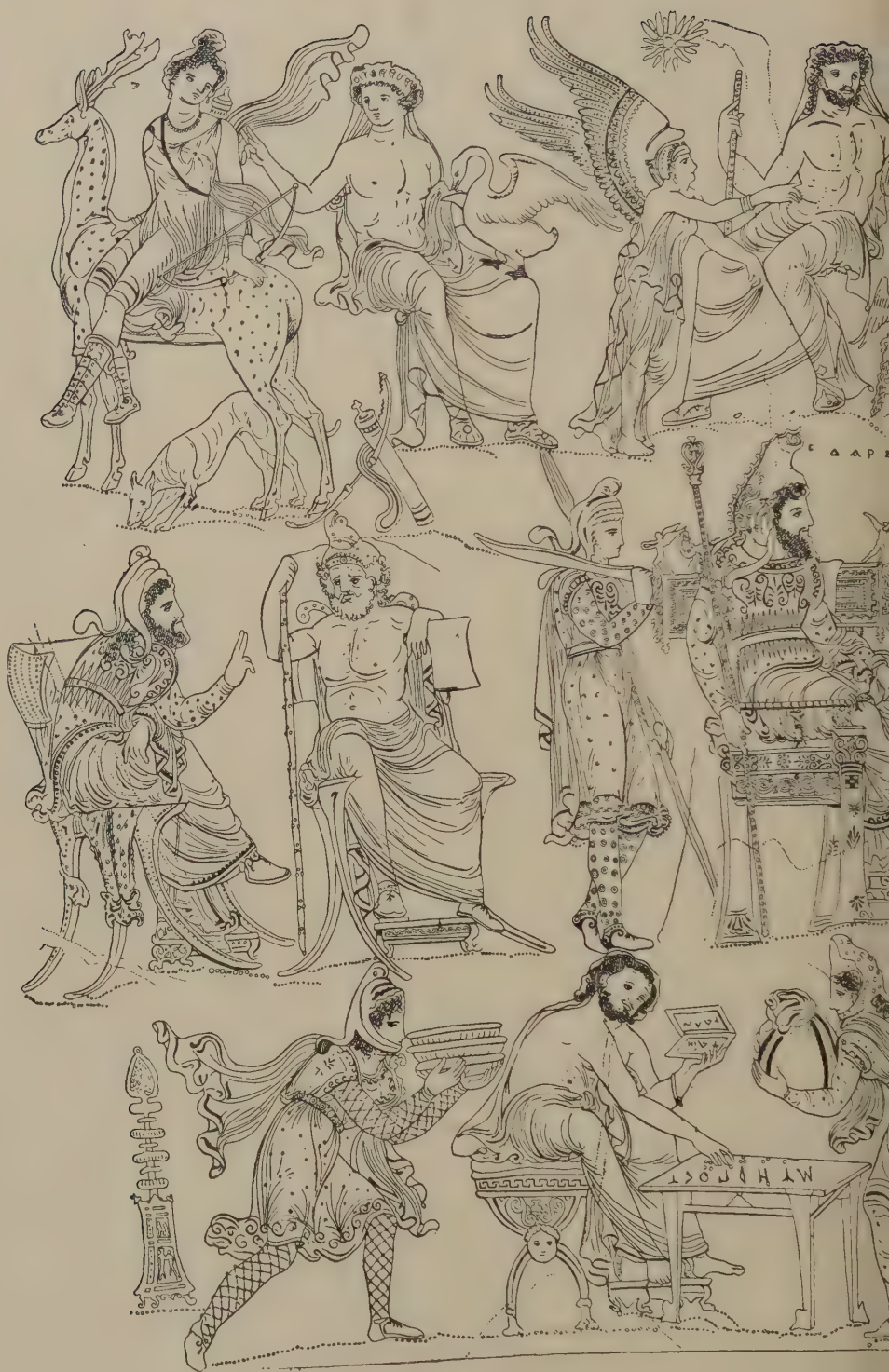
Tenedos shared the same fate. Many cities of the Hellespont were burned. The inhabitants of Chalkedon and Byzantion abandoned their homes and sought asylum on the northwest shore of the Euxine at Mesambria. Miltiades also thought it wise to withdraw from the Chersonesos; he returned to Athens, where he was soon to find himself arrayed against the same Persians from whom he now fled. The downfall of Ionia re-echoed sadly throughout Greece. Athens especially was afflicted at the news. Phrynichos having put on the stage a drama called "The Capture of Miletos," the whole audience broke out into weeping, and the poet was fined a thousand drachmas "for reviving the memory of their domestic misfortunes." Tears like these are an expiation for many faults.

II. — EXPEDITIONS OF MARDONIOS AND ARTAPHERNES ; MARATHON.

MEANTIME Darius had not forgotten that after the burning of Sardis he had sworn to revenge himself upon the Athenians. He gave his son-in-law, Mardonios, the command of a new army, which was to enter Europe by way of Thrace, while the fleet advanced along the coast. Mardonios, to conciliate the Asiatic Greeks, restored to them democratic government; he remembered that the authors of the recent revolt had been two of those tyrants whom Persia supported.¹

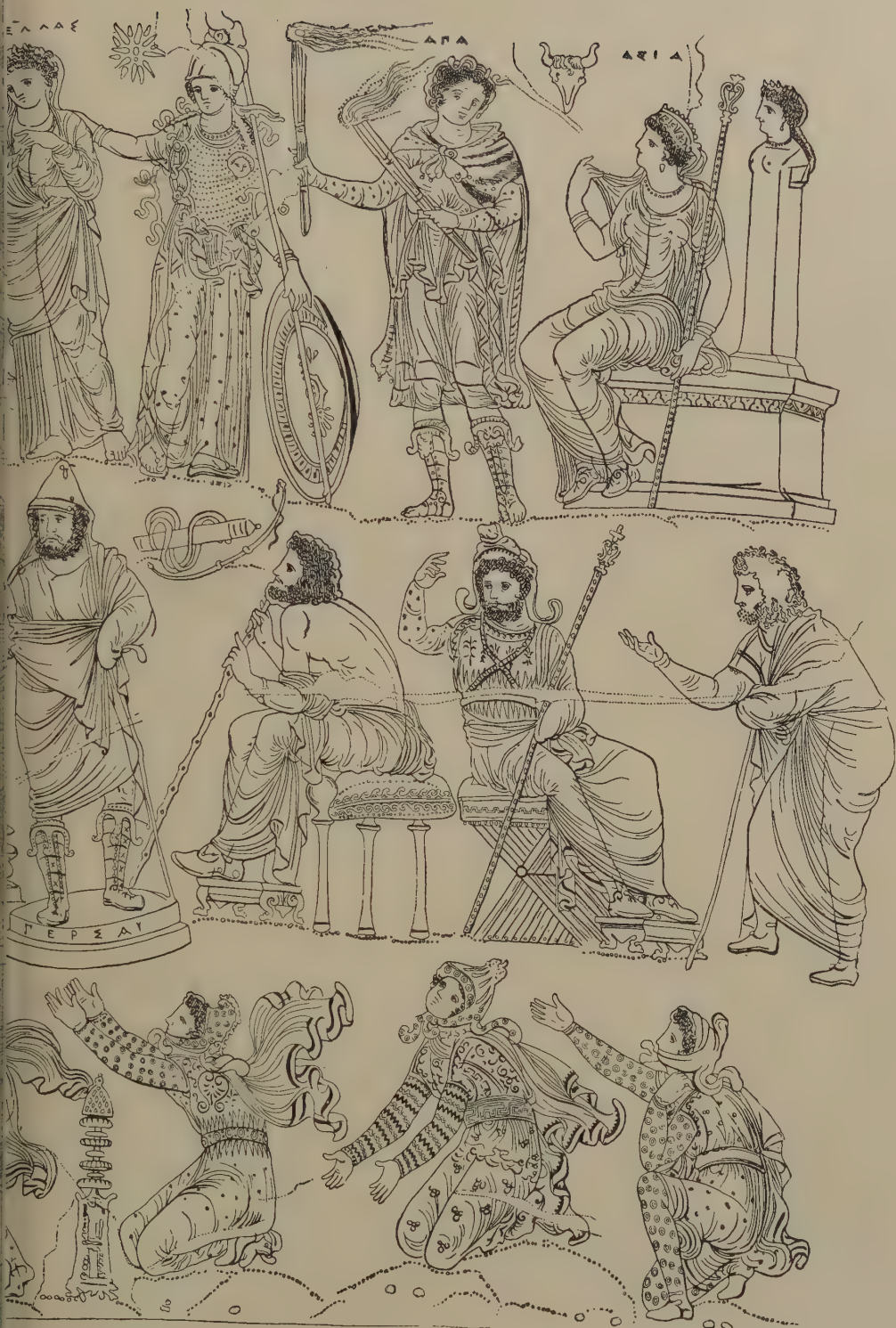
Already all the nations between the Hellespont and Macedon had been conquered by Megabazos. Mardonios crossed the Strymon, and gave his fleet rendezvous in the Thermaic Gulf. The fleet took Thasos, and was coasting Chalkidike, when, in doubling the promontory of Mount Athos, which rises like a huge rock six thousand feet above the sea, it was assailed by a tempest, causing the shipwreck of three hundred vessels, with a loss of twenty thousand men. At the same time Mardonios, attacked during the night by Thracians, lost many of his troops, and was himself wounded. He, however, kept on with the

¹ The sway of the Persians was extremely mild; they left the cities their own administration, and required no heavy tributes, as formerly; only they required them to submit their disputes to judges, instead of having recourse to force (Herodotos, vi. 47).



VAS

See note on p



DARIUS.

of the second volume.

expedition; but when he had subjugated the hostile Thracians, he found himself so enfeebled that it was necessary to return to Asia (492 B. C.).

A more formidable armament was immediately prepared. Before sending it out, Darius despatched heralds to Greece demanding in his name the homage of earth and water, and from the maritime cities a contingent of galleys. Most of the islands and many cities of the mainland paid the required homage. Aigina readily acceded to the demand; but Athens and Sparta were so exasperated that they entirely forgot that principle of international law by which the person of an envoy is held sacred. "You ask

NOTE.—Opposite are represented the figures on a painted vase in the Museum of Naples, known as the Vase of Darius, from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. ix. pl. 50, 51 (cf. Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlungen des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel*, No. 3,253, p. 571). The representation is divided into three registers, and the principal scene occupies the middle one of the three. The inscription (ΙΕΡΣΑΙ) on the base of the column is a sort of title to the scene; it is a council of war held by Darius and the Persians, before the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes against Greece (Herod., vi. 94 *et seq.*). The king (ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ) is seated in the centre on a richly ornamented throne; in the right hand he holds a sceptre, in the left the sheath of his sword. Darius is listening to a Persian, perhaps a messenger, who, standing before him on a golden plinth, speaks with the right hand lifted. Behind the king stands a young Persian, also wearing the Phrygian cap; he holds two lances in his left hand, and carries on the right shoulder a naked sword. Of the two figures following and conversing, one wears the Barbarian shoes and cap, but his garment is Greek, and Heydemann suggests that this is some tyrant of a Græco-Asiatic city. The name of Artaphernes, either the brother or nephew of Darius, that of Otanes, or of Datis, might belong to his interlocutor. Behind the person who addresses Darius is seated a Greek (perhaps Demaratos), and a Persian (perhaps Gobryes), and another Greek, an old gray-haired man, leaning on a stick, advances; this is probably Hippias. Of the upper register we have, in Vol. I. p. 123, the central part: Greece (ΓΕΛΛΑΣ), between Athene and Zeus, and near them a Victory. At the right of this group Asia (ΑΣΙΑ) is seated upon an altar, the hermes of Aphrodite at her side. Before Asia is the goddess of deception (ΔΙΤΑΡΗ), clad like the Erinyes, the skin of some animal thrown over her garments, two serpents in motion upon her head, and in her hands two torches. With the right hand she points to Greece, and with her head indicates Asia. On the other side of Zeus and the Victory are Apollo and Artemis. The god is seated; at his feet lie his bow and quiver, and on his knees is a swan. The goddess is seated on a stag, and turns her head towards her brother; she has her bow and quiver, and a dog accompanies her. In the lower register the scene passes in Persia. There are six figures: one of them, the treasurer, is seated before a small table, on which are the figures Μ (10,000), Ψ (1000), Η (100), Δ (10), Π (5); Ο (one obolos); < (a half obolos); Τ (a quarter obolos). With his right hand he counts a sum lying on the table; in the left he holds a diptych on which are the words ΤΑΑΝΤΑ: Η [τάλαντα ἑκατόν]. Behind the treasurer advances a person bearing three round dishes. (It is known that, among other gifts, the Great King was accustomed to present to ambassadors accredited to his court two silver dishes weighing a talent.) On the other side a person brings to the treasurer a bag of silver. Two censers, at the right and left, serve to indicate that the scene passes in the interior of the palace; outside three men, kneeling, extend their arms as suppliants towards the treasurer. These are envoys from tributary cities begging for indulgence. (On the Persian tribute, see Herod., iii. 89 *et seq.*, and vi. 42.)

for earth and water?" said the Spartans to the messengers of Darius, — "you shall have them both;" and they threw the men into a well. The Athenians flung them into the *barathron*,¹ and, if we may believe a story of doubtful authenticity, condemned to death the interpreter who had polluted the Greek language by translating the orders of a Barbarian.

Athens was always at war with the Aiginetans, and she now took the opportunity their conduct offered of accusing them to Sparta as

traitors to the common cause.

This appeal to the Spartans was equivalent to an acknowledgment of their claim to supremacy as the recognized chiefs of Hellas: the difficulties of the situation had put to silence Athenian pride.

Kleomenes responded cordially,

and hastened to Aigina to seize the offenders; but his colleague, Demaratos, who had already betrayed him in an expedition into Attika, warned the islanders, and the enterprise failed.

To put an end to this vexatious opposition on the part of his colleague, Kleomenes caused it to be declared by the Pythia, whom he had won over, that Demaratos was not of royal race, and thus obtained his deposition. Leotychides had co-operated with Kleomenes in this scheme, and now succeeded Demaratos, to whom he was next of kin; he then by repeated insults drove the ex-king to abandon Sparta and join Hippias in exile, where, like the Athenian, he sought protection from the Great King.

Kleomenes proceeded to Aigina and took thence ten hostages, whom he sent to Athens. It was the last public act of this tur-

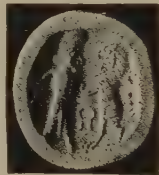
¹ See p. 35, note 2.

² Double Persian sicle. View of a fortress flanked with five bastions, standing at the water's edge; in front of it a galley. In the exergue, two lions leaping apart. Reverse: the king of Persia, standing on his war-chariot, with a charioteer holding the reins; the horses are treading under foot a stag engraved in intaglio.

³ Achaimenid king. An Achaimenid king, probably Darius, son of Hystaspes, wearing on his head the *kidaris*, seizing by the throat a lion rampant before him, and making ready to strike the animal with his poniard. Between the king and the lion is the symbol of the supreme divinity, Ormuzd, in the most simple form. (Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 1,025.) Brown agate-chalcedony 25 millim. in height.



SILVER COIN.²



ENGRAVED
STONE.³

bulent leader; he became insane, and died by his own hand. Leotyichides, being later convicted of receiving money from an enemy whom he should have opposed, was sent into exile, where he died. "Thus the gods," says Herodotos, "punished the perjury of the two kings." Meanwhile the people of Aigina demanded the return of their hostages; and when Athens refused to restore them the Aiginetans captured the sacred galley which was carrying to Cape Sounion many of the principal citizens. War at once broke out. An Aiginetan attempted to overthrow, in his island, the oligarchical government. He seized the citadel; but not being reinforced in time by the Athenians, abandoned the enterprise and fled from the country, and seven hundred of his followers of the poorer class were massacred. One of these unfortunate men, making his escape, fled to the temple of Demeter, and clung to the door-handle so forcibly that he could not be dragged away; upon which the pursuers cut off his hands, and so removed him from the sanctuary. Herodotos, habituated to civil wars, says only concerning the butchery of the seven hundred: "Thus the Aiginetans treated their own people;" but the act of sacrilege seems to him worthy of special remark. "They incurred a guilt," he says, "which they were unable, by any ingenuity, to expiate, and they were ejected from the island before the goddess again received them into favor."² This war, in fact, did not end till nine years after the second expedition of the Persians.

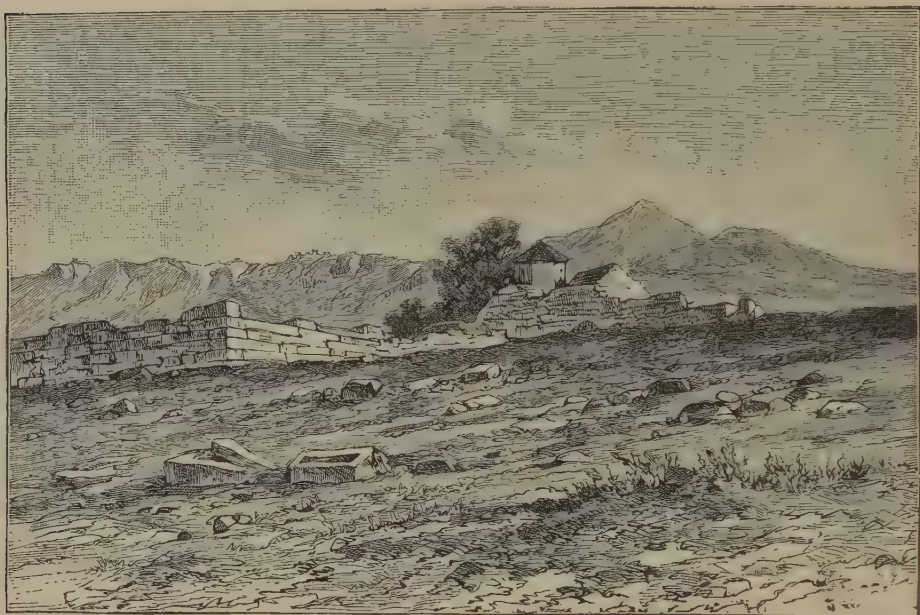
COIN OF TARSOS.¹

The new army, one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, embarked on six hundred galleys, set out under the command of Datis, the Median, and Artaphernes, the king's nephew. Darius had ordered them to conquer Eretria and Athens, to enslave the inhabitants, and bring them, as his bondsmen, into his presence; he wished to behold the men who had dared to brave him. This time the fleet, avoiding Mount Athos, sailed across the Ægæan Sea. On

¹ Achaemenid king struggling with a rampant lion, and plunging his poniard into the animal's side. Reverse: ΤΕΡΣΙ[ΚΟΝ]. Achaemenid king, standing, bearded, wearing the *kidaris*, holding in one hand the ansate cross, and in the other the spear. In the field the lotus-flower and the legend in Aramaic: תרסו (*Tarsou*). (Silver.)

² vi. 90-91. Herodotos speaks of two persons of the name Artaphernes, — the brother and the nephew of the king.

the way the Persian army subdued Naxos, burned the city and the sacred buildings, respected the sanctuaries of Delos because the Persians themselves adored the sun and moon, and finally arrived at Euboia, where they took Karystos, and besieged Eretria. This city at first hoped to make a successful defence, and the Athenians gave them as auxiliaries those four thousand men who had been established as a colony in the island; but men of rank among the citizens opened the gates to the enemy; the city was sacked and burned, with its temples, in reprisal for the



VIEW OF MOUNT PANHELLENION, IN AIGINA.¹

destruction of Sardis. All the inhabitants, friendly or hostile, were enslaved and sent to Darius, who assigned them a place of residence near the Persian Gulf. More than a century and a half later, Alexander discovered this Greek settlement, whose population remained faithful to the language and manners of their ancestral home. Plato composed an epitaph for these lost sons of Greece: "Born in Euboia, children of Eretria, we repose near

¹ From Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, Itinéraire*, pl. 14. The ruins at the foot of the mountain are now called *Naós* (temple), and doubtless mark the site of the ancient sanctuary. The temple of Zeus Panhellenion was on the summit of the mountain (1,750 feet), and overlooked the Saronic Gulf in all its extent.

Susa; how far, alas, from our native land!" This transplanting of entire populations was a custom with Oriental Governments. The Assyrians applied this measure to the Jews, the Persians to the people of Miletos, and Darius proposed to employ it in the case of Athens. To carry men away from the tombs of their ancestors and the temples of their gods was less than a general massacre, but more than personal servitude. It is easy to see how the Greeks replied by a despairing struggle to a threat like this.

BRONZE COIN.¹

From Eretria the Persians went on, and cast anchor in the bay of Marathon. The plain of this name, bordered by the sea, by marshes, and by the foot-hills of Pentelikos and Parnes, is about six miles long and two wide; it was of all Attika the ground most favorable for the evolutions of cavalry: Hippias, the banished king, had only too well selected it. The Athenians rushed to meet the Barbarians. Every tribe furnished about a thousand soldiers and a few slaves. To this army of ten thousand men were added one thousand Plataians; remembering that Athens had once succored them, they came willingly to incur a danger from which all the other Greeks shrank back in terror. This was the only assistance that Athens received from without. She had, however, sent the courier Pheidippides to notify Sparta of the arrival of the Persians, and in less than two days he had accomplished the hundred and fifty miles that separated the two cities. The Spartans, unanimous in their readiness to respond to this patriotic appeal, were held back by a religious law which forbade them to march out from the city until the full moon, and it was now only the ninth day. But in traversing the Arkadian mountains Pheidippides had heard the god Pan promise his help to the Athenians.

An army of eleven thousand men marched out, then, against one hundred and ten thousand enemies.² It was under the orders of ten

¹ Head of the youthful Herakles, with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: bull's head, three-quarters front, the horns adorned with chains; above, KA (*Karpotíon*); in front, the monogram of a magistrate's name. (Bronze of the British Museum, *Central Greece*, pl. 19, No. 3.) See p. 99, another coin of Karystos in Eubœa.

² As Herodotos gives no figures, there is uncertainty upon this point; but he does tell us

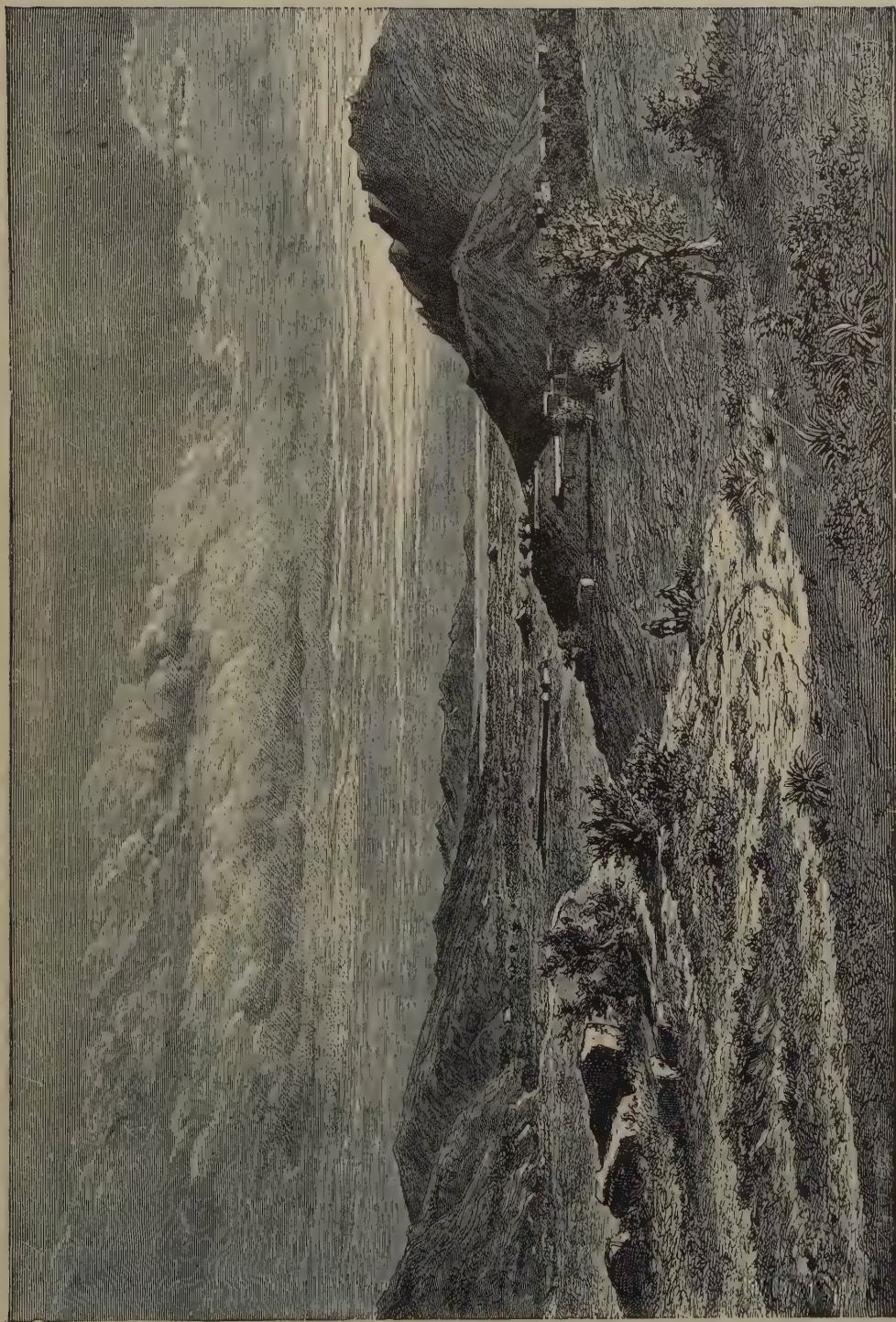
generals, or *strategoi*, chosen one from each tribe, each to command for a day, in turn. One of these was Miltiades, the son of Kimon. He had become renowned as the tyrant of the Chersonesos, — a principality bequeathed him by his uncle, — and the Athenians owed to him the conquest of Lemnos, where he had avenged upon the inhabitants a very ancient quarrel.¹ It was he who, in the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, proposed to destroy the bridge over the Danube. When, after the taking of Miletos, the Persians had spread over the shores of the Hellespont, he had hastily quitted the Chersonesos, and, traversing the hostile fleet, amid great dangers had made his way home to Greece with four triremes loaded with treasure. Here he was publicly accused of tyranny, but received honorable acquittal, and was shortly elected one of the ten generals.

Opinions were divided: five generals wished to wait, “because they were too few to engage with the army of the Medes;” Miltiades and four others urged an immediate battle, because the intrigues of Hippias and the gold of the invaders made a greater danger than their numbers. The fate of Eretria showed the risk of giving treason an opportunity to creep into camp or city, — so Miltiades urged, and he succeeded in convincing the polemarch Kallimachos, who had a vote with the generals. It was decided to fight at once. Aristides, one of the ten generals, recognizing the superiority of Miltiades, advised his colleagues to yield to him their days of command; but Miltiades would not accept, and waited till his turn came. Kallimachos had the usual place of

that the Athenian army had no cavalry (vii. 112). Nor had it cavalry at Plataia (ix. 27). It was only at a later period that the Athenian cavalry assumed a degree of importance.

¹ The Pelasgoi of Lemnos in some of their predatory expeditions had carried off a number of Athenian women assembled for a religious festival. Later, on a suspicion of treason, they had killed these women and the children born of intermarriage with them. Summoned by Athens to give satisfaction, they had made answer that they would submit when a fleet setting sail from Athenian territory should be able in one day, driven by the north wind, to reach their coasts. These conditions it was manifestly impossible to fulfil; but from the Chersonesos, which had become the property of an Athenian, Miltiades had been able in a few hours, with a north wind, to reach Lemnos, and he had been strong enough to compel the inhabitants to admit that their conditions had been thus fulfilled.

NOTE. — The view of the plain of Marathon (from Stackelberg, *La Grèce*) on the opposite page is taken from the village of Vrana, on the west. It is from this side that the Athenians came on to the battle-field. Vrana no doubt occupies the site of the demos of Probalinthos. The heights at the right are the spurs of Pentelikos; at the left opens the valley of Marathon, watered by the river called *Χαράδρα τῆς Οἰνῆς*.



THE PLAIN OF MARATHON.

the polemarch, on the right wing, and the Plataians occupied the left. The Athenians extended their troops in line until they presented a front equal to that of the Persian army, thus leaving their centre very weak; but they placed their principal force in the wings, protected by an abattis of trees against the enemy's cavalry, so that the latter could not turn them without ascending the slopes of the mountain,—a manœuvre not to be executed without difficulty, and of a nature to break their ranks. Accordingly, after reconnoitring this plain, surrounded by hills and marshy along its edges, Datis and Artaphernes abandoned the idea of using their cavalry. Miltiades covered the two roads which led to Athens by Kephisia and Aphidna. He left open to the Persians that of Pallene; but this road they could reach only by a flank movement, dangerous in the presence of a hostile army.

TETRADRACHM.¹SILVER COIN.²

"Then the Athenians," says Herodotos, "as soon as they were ordered to charge, advanced against the Barbarians running, the space between the two armies being not less than a mile. The Persians, when they saw them coming, made ready to receive them. And they imputed madness to the Athenians, and that utterly destructive, when they saw that they were few in number, and came on running, although they had no cavalry nor archers. The Athenians, however, when they came to close quarters with the Barbarians, fought memorably. They, first of all the Greeks whom we know of, charged the enemy at full speed, and they first endured the sight of the Mede garb and the men that wore it; but until that time the very name of the Medes had been a terror to the Greeks. The battle lasted long. In the middle of the line the Persians and Sakians were victorious, and having broken through the Greek centre, pursued to the interior; but

¹ Greek horseman galloping to the right, armed with the spear; a lion's skin is placed for a saddle on the horse's back. Reverse: a bull threatening with his horns in the windings of the Meander. Magnesian tetradrachm; unique specimen in the Museum of Berlin (Friedländer, *Das königl. Münzkabinet*, No. 223).

² Persian coin. Achaimenid king, wearing the Persian tiara, clad in the *kandys*, drawing his bow. Reverse: Persian horseman on a galloping horse and brandishing his lance; under him, a dolphin. In the field an Aramaic letter, a mint-mark. (Silver coin of an unknown satrap.)

on both wings the Athenians and Plataians were victorious. Having gained

the victory, they allowed the defeated Persians to flee, and uniting both wings, fought with those that had broken their centre, and here also were victorious. They followed the Persians in their flight, making great slaughter, till, reaching the shore, they called for fire and made an attempt to burn the Persian vessels.

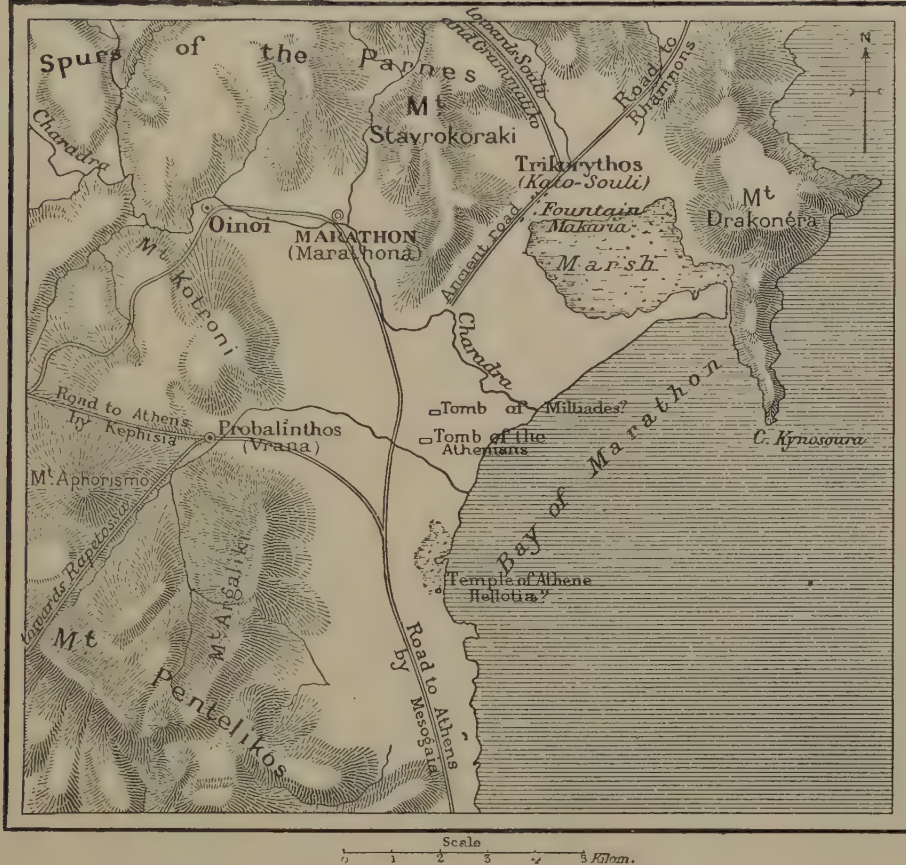
"And first in this battle the polemarch Kallimachos was killed, having proved himself a brave

¹ Funereal stela of Aristion, known under the name of "The Soldier of Marathon" (from a cast in the Trocadéro). This stela was discovered in Attika, at VélaniDéza, over a great tumulus. Both stela and base are of Pentelikan marble. Two inscriptions give the name of the soldier (Ἀριστίωνος, genitive) and of the sculptor (ἔργον Ἀριστοκλέους, the work of Aristokles). Aristion is represented standing and in complete armor; there is no doubt that he fell in battle, and it was long believed that it was at Marathon. But the form of the letters of the inscription and the style of the bas-relief allow us to attribute the work of Aristokles to the sixth century B. C. The relief is very low, and it was completely painted. The figure stands out from a red ground; the hair and beard in ringlets are of reddish brown, and the cuirass is of blue black. (Concerning Aristokles, see E. Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 12 and 13.)



THE SOLDIER OF MARATHON.¹

man; and among the generals Stesilaos, the son of Thrasylos, perished; and in the next place Kynegiros, son of Euphorion, having laid hold of a ship's prow, had his hand severed by an axe and fell; and besides, many other distinguished Athenians were slain. Seven ships were taken;



MAP OF THE PLAIN OF MARATHON.

but with the rest, the Barbarians rowing rapidly off, sailed round Sou-nion, wishing to reach the city first. . . . But the Athenians marched with all speed to the relief of the city, and reached it before the Barbarians arrived, who anchored for a while off the harbor of Phaleron, and then sailed for Asia.¹ . . . In this battle there perished of the Barbarians about six

¹ Curtius thinks, and with reason, that a part of the Persian army, notably the cavalry, had already been embarked to go to surprise Athens, deprived of its defenders, when Miltiades precipitated the battle, to take advantage of the confusion produced by this movement. It is certain that the numerous Persian cavalry was not engaged at Marathon. Herodotos mentions the report that a white shield had been held up on the summit of Pentelikos by the partisans of Hippias as a signal to the Persians that the gates of Athens would be opened to them.

thousand four hundred men, and of the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two." (Sept. 12, 490 B. C.)

Aristeides, who with his tribe remained behind on the battle-field of Marathon, interred the dead and gathered up the spoils; from the bronze was made the colossal statue of Athene Promachos,¹ the maiden warrior who, nine centuries later, it is said, warded off another and more terrible invasion.

Hippias was probably among the slain, and the poet Aischylos received a wound. Herodotos makes no mention of the soldier who ran without stopping from Marathon to Athens, and expired as soon as he had announced the victory. But the old historian does not tell us of some other circumstances as to this astonishing victory which were well known to the multitude. Theseus was seen by some, and by others the hero Echetlos, fighting in the ranks of the Athenians.



BRONZE COIN.²

A tenth of the spoils was devoted to the protecting divinities Athene, Apollo, Artemis; and in memory of the promise of victory heard by the courier Pheidippides, a sanctuary was consecrated to the god Pan in a grotto on the side of the Akropolis.

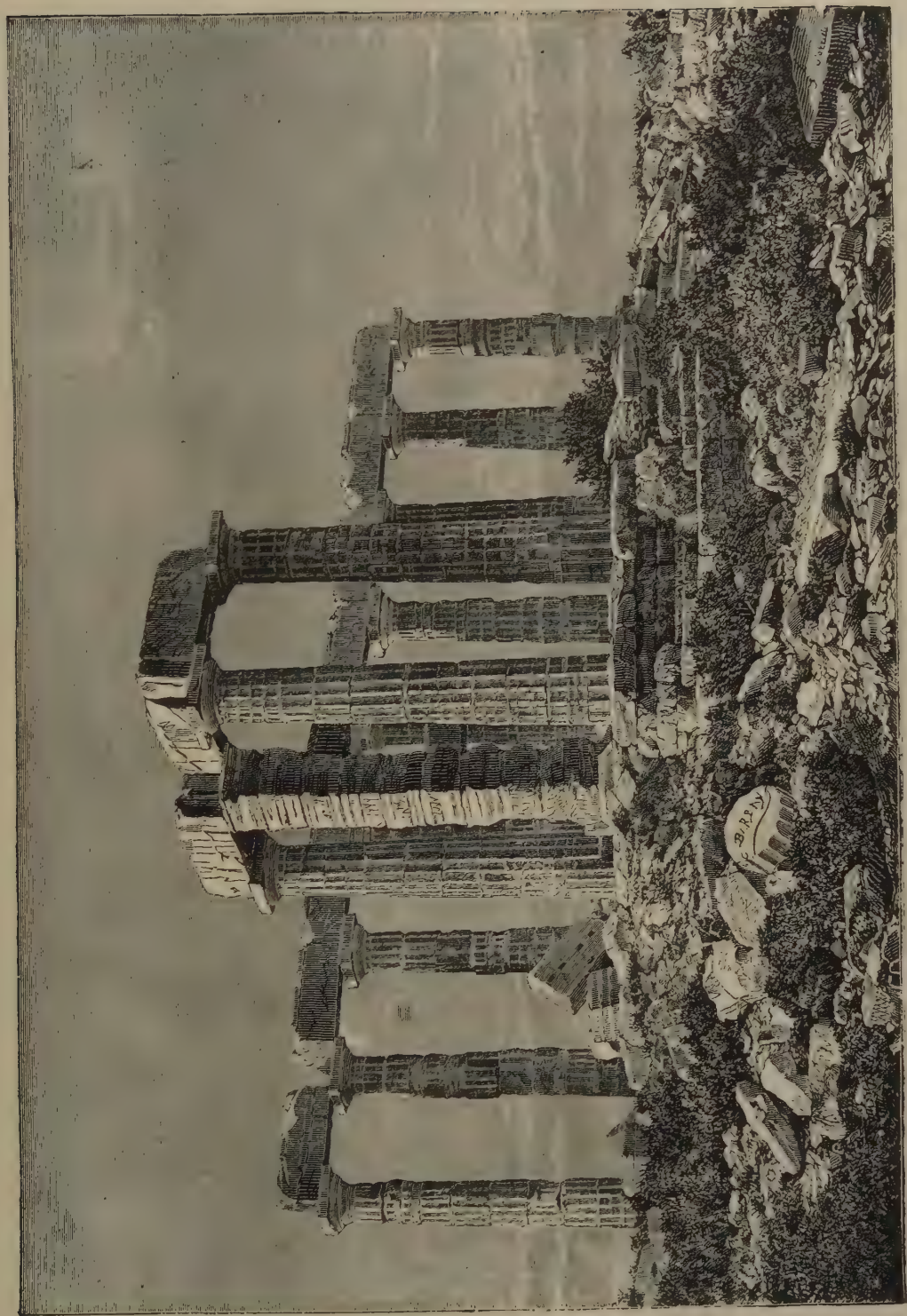
The Plataians who fell in the battle were buried under a mound adjacent to that where the Athenians were interred; and grateful Athens did not forget the slaves who had aided her to conquer, giving them also their funereal stela upon this glorious battle-field.

The honor paid Miltiades was to represent him and also Kallimachos on the walls of the Poikile, in a group of heroes and demigods. This was much,—usually Athens did less; nor have we a right to accuse her of envious jealousy towards her great men. Was it not the people who were eager to fight, and who won the victory? History, however, will not reply to the

¹ *Promachos*, she who fights in the foremost rank.

² Athene Promachos. Athene, bare-headed and winged, as a Victory, standing to the right, her left arm covered with the aegis. In the field a shield and the monogram of a magistrate's name or of a mint. Legend: BOIΩΤΩΝ. Reverse of a bronze coin of the Boiotians, *in genere*, with the head of Herakles on the face.

NOTE.—On the opposite page is an illustration, from a photograph, of the ruins of the temple on Cape Sounion. This temple, of marble from Mount Laureion, was consecrated to Athene.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE ON CAPE SOUNION.

accusations of popular injustice as did the Athenian citizen who said to Miltiades: "When you conquer the Barbarians by yourself alone, Miltiades, you alone shall have the honor of the victory;"¹ for history knows how much the skill of the leader adds to an army's strength. Later a tomb was erected to Miltiades on the plain of Marathon near the tumulus commemorative of the soldiers who fell in the battle.² Adjacent to this were placed ten columns, one for each tribe, and upon them were engraved the names of the hundred and ninety-two heroes. It was said that the Persians had brought with them to Marathon a block of Parian marble of which they proposed to make a monument in honor of their victory, and that Pheidias converted it into a statue of Nemesis; but this is only legendary. It is, however, true that a small temple was consecrated on this plain to the goddess of retribution; but the Nemesis of Rhamnous was the work, not of Pheidias, but of Agorakritos, the favorite pupil of the great Athenian sculptor.

AMULET.³

¹ The honors usually bestowed on citizens at Athens were a wreath of gold, exemption from taxes (*ἀτέλεια*), the right to be maintained at the public expense in the Prytaneia, and a special seat at the theatre; to strangers was given the citizenship. Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Aristokr.*, §§ 196–200. It was displeasing to the Greeks to have the personality of their leaders made too conspicuous. "What!" says Peleus in the *Andromache* of Euripides, "should not the trophy that the army erects of the spoils of enemies be the work of the whole army? Should one man snatch away the glory that all have gained? He did no more than hurl a spear, like all the others; he did no more than every man has done." And with like injustice Aischines says, later: "The name of the people, and not the name of the generals, is found on all monuments in memory of the victories of Athens" (*Disc. against Ctesiphon*, 193 *et seq.*). After Marathon the gods also had cause of complaint. To Athene had been promised as many goats as there should be enemies slain; but it would have been to destroy every goat in Attika, and the goddess had to content herself with five hundred.

² There is still to be seen a tumulus on the plain of Marathon, about thirty feet in height and six hundred in circumference. It is believed to be the one which commemorated the Athenian heroes.

³ Amulet found on the battle-field of Marathon. This amulet has a gold ring by which to suspend it. It is in the shape of a pyramid of three stages, placed on an elongated and slightly pyramidal cube. The four faces have Oriental decorations. The one represented shows a warrior transfixing a rampant lion. Barbaric style. (Serpentine 50 millim. in height. *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 972.)

The Plataians shared in the honors of the victory as they had shared in the perils of the conflict. "Ever since," says Herodotos, "when the Athenians offer sacrifices and celebrate the public



THE HERO ECHETLOS (?).¹

festivals which take place once in five years, the Athenian herald prays, saying, 'May blessings attend both the Athenians and the Plataians.'

Two days after the battle the Spartans arrived, having been only three days on the road. They congratulated the Athenians on their victory, and visited the battle-field, still strewn with the dead. But at sight of the trophies and of the enthusiasm of the victors they must have recognized the fact that on the day when the vast empire of Persia had been thus successfully defied, a great nation had come into existence in Greece.

¹ Etruscan bas-relief on a cinerary urn; in the Museum of the Louvre. This is one of the representations most frequent upon Etruscan urns, and while it has not received explanation that is perfectly satisfactory, it is generally believed to be borrowed from the Etruscan religion, and not from the legendary history of Athens. According to this legend, "the hero of the ploughshare" (such is the meaning of the Greek word) killed at Marathon many Persians with this extemporized weapon. The monument has been thus explained by Winckelmann, Zoëga, and Clarac. (Cf. Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, vol. ii. part 1, p. 696, No. 255 bis; Zoëga, *Bassirilievi*, tav. 40; *Annali dell' Inst. archeol.*, 1835, p. 104; 1837, 2, pp. 256, 264; *Bull. dell' Inst. archeol.*, 1839, p. 74; 1849, p. 9; 1859, p. 182.)

III. — MILTIADES, THEMISTOKLES, AND ARISTEIDES.

WAR had been driven away from Attika; it was important to keep it forever at a distance, by forming around Greece a rampart which should arrest any new invasion. If it were possible to close the Ægæan Sea to the Persians by seizing upon the Cyclades, they could reach Hellas only by the long and dangerous route through Thrace. This was the plan of Miltiades. "He asked of the Athenians seventy vessels, and troops and money," says Herodotos, "without telling them what country he proposed to invade, but saying that he would make them rich if they would follow him, for he would take them to a country whence they could bring home abundance of gold." On the credit of his name the poor crowded around him, and he went to besiege Paros, "having a grudge against the Parians." The defence was vigorous, and Miltiades, severely wounded in the thigh, after twenty-six days was obliged to raise the siege. The Athenians had never felt perfect confidence in the former tyrant of the Chersonesos, and this expedition awakened all their former suspicions. Xanthippos, the father of Perikles, a good citizen, prosecuted him before the people on a charge of having deceived the Athenians and squandered the public treasure.

VASE OF MARATHON.¹

¹ From the *Archäologische Zeitung*, vol. xxii. (1864) pl. 183, 1 and 2, and p. 145. This great lecyth of Pentelikan marble, which was used as a funereal stela, was itself discovered at Athens; but on the battle-field was found the first of the series which has long been known under the name of "Vases of Marathon." Of all these, the one here represented is the most perfect. The artist represents the scenes of daily life: at the left two young men, with helmet and shield, are taking leave of one another; at the right an ephebos sits upon his prancing horse (*μετ' ἐπιζεί*). Between the two scenes the artist has introduced a graceful and charming group: two young women, one of whom is seated, while the other leans gently on her companion's shoulder, watch the two young men, who are parting from each other. This group did not belong to the original composition; in introducing it the artist was obliged to leave the horse's tail unfinished and to put the two female figures in the background and on a higher plane. The relief is low, and was evidently made more effective by the use of color.

Diodoros, Cornelius Nepos, and Plutarch have accumulated facts unfavorable to the Athenians. Herodotos, who was able to converse with eye-witnesses, relates the affair more simply. "Miltiades," he says, "though present in person, made no defence; for he was unable, as his thigh had begun to mortify. But while he lay on a couch, his friends made a defence for him, dwelling much on the battle that had been fought at Marathon, and on the cap-

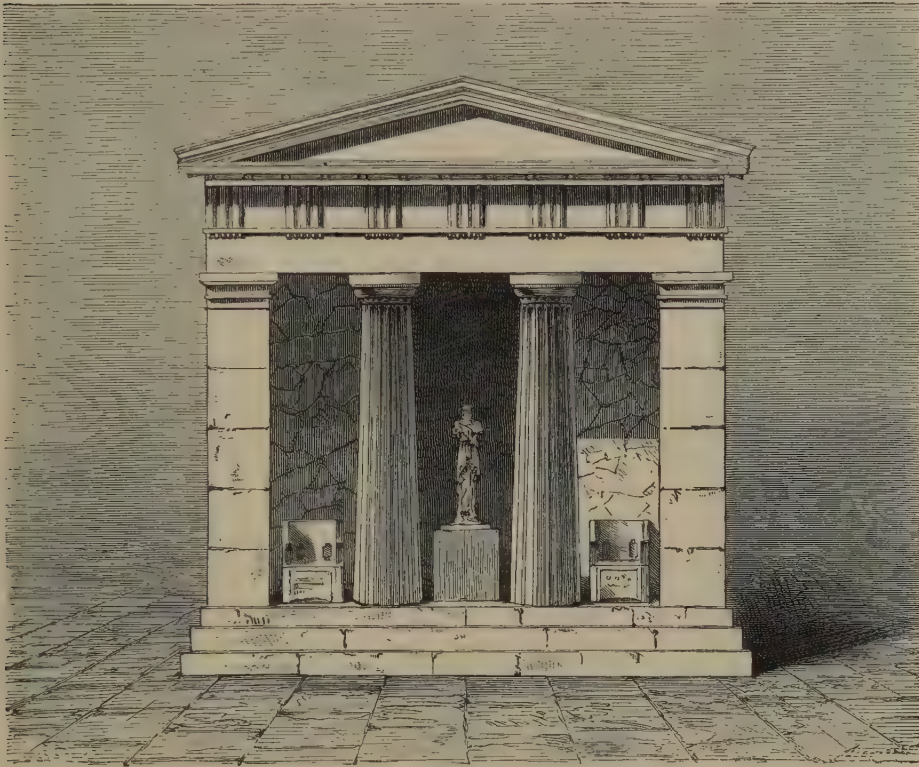


DETAILS OF THE VASE OF MARATHON.

ture of Lemnos, since, having taken Lemnos and inflicted vengeance on the Pelasgians, he had given it up to the Athenians. The people so far favoring him as to acquit him of the capital offence, and having fined him fifty talents for the injury he had done, Miltiades soon after died of the gangrene of his wound, and Kimon, his son, paid the fine." We hear nothing of the prison in which the liberator of Athens languished, nor of the body of the hero piously redeemed by his son from the jailer who detains it still loaded with chains, nor of the fair Elpinike, given to the wealthy Kallias by her brother Kimon in exchange for the fifty talents which the pitiless treasury demands.¹ The dramatic interest is lessened, but truth gains by this, and also the honor of the Athe-

¹ The fine of fifty talents [sixty thousand dollars] was the usual penalty inflicted on those who had mismanaged public affairs. As concerns Elpinike, it appears that she married Kallias, though Herodotos does not say so (Plutarch, *Kimon*, 4).

nian people, so much calumniated by the rhetoricians of all ages. At the same time, while the law was strictly observed in this suit, justice according to our modern ideas¹—which require that



TEMPLE OF NEMESIS AT RHAMNOUS.²

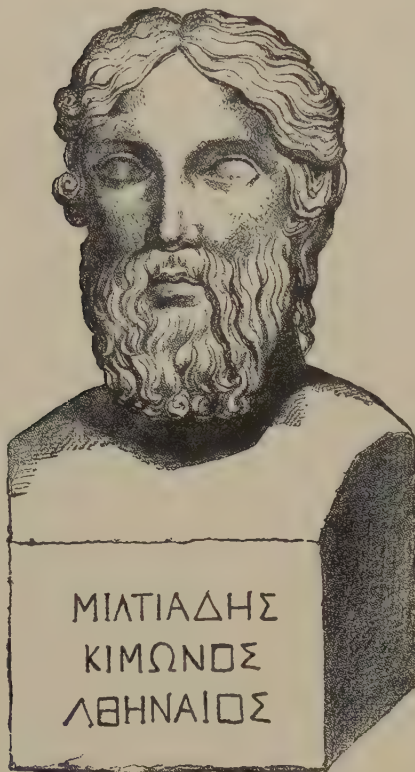
crime, not error, and treason, not defeat, should be punished—was violated, and this end of the victor of Marathon remains a disgrace to Athens. Once dead, however, neither eulogiums nor honors were lacking to his memory. When the Athenians, in memory of Marathon, sent to Delphi thirteen statues of gods and

¹ Our ideas, but not our laws. General Ramorino was shot in 1849, by order of a council of war, on account of misunderstanding or failing properly to execute an order; Dupont was imprisoned for his surrender of Baylen; Admiral Byng was put to death for a defeat. Every captain of a ship who loses his vessel passes before a council of war, and is condemned if negligence even can be proved against him. In all high functions incapacity may equal a crime against the country.

² Restoration from *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, by the Society of Dilettanti, chap. vii. pl. ii. The little temple of Rhamnous was destroyed by the Persians, who built a larger one in the neighborhood. The ruins of both may still be seen.

heroes, Miltiades alone of mortal men was admitted to the divine band.

Three men took his place, — Xanthippos, a nephew of Kleisthenes, celebrated only for his victory at Mykale and as the father of Perikles; Aristides and Themistokles, who were renowned, the one for his integrity, the other for the great services he rendered to the State.



MILTIADES.¹

Themistokles was born about the year 535 B. C. His father, Neokles, was a man of obscure family but great wealth, and his mother, a foreigner. In commercial Athens prejudices of race were not very strong, and he made them still feebler. Boys of mixed race were allowed to practise the exercises of the gymnasium only in the Kynosarges; Themistokles succeeded in attracting thither the children of the Eupatrids, and thus put an end to this invidious separation. For himself he preferred labor to amusement; but he neglected the speculative studies, to which the

Greeks attached so much importance, and attended upon the instruction of one of the Sages of his time. — a class of teachers who concerned themselves especially with the science of government. He was reproached one day with not knowing how to play the lyre. "Songs and sports become me not," he said; "but I am able to take a city small and feeble, and quickly render it strong and great."

Remarking his ambition and ardor, one of his instructors predicted for him a great career, either in good or evil. He sought

¹ Marble bust, from Visconti, *Iconografia greca*, pl. xiii. 1. The inscription, Μιλτιάδης Κίμωνος Ἀθηναῖος, is engraved in characters somewhat archaic, as on the busts of Bias and Periander, pp. 213, 214.

the Olympic prize on account of the great reputation which was attached to victory at the games. He took pride in having it thought that he knew by name every Athenian citizen, and was himself known to every one. Also he attracted to his house all foreign artists and strangers of distinction who visited the city. His father sought to turn him away from public affairs. Walking with him upon the beach, he bade him notice the old broken galleys that were left there to decay. "Thus it is," said Neokles, "that the multitude abandon those who do them service, and leave their benefactors to perish." But the counsels of selfish experience happily remain always ineffectual. Themistokles studied carefully the art of public speaking, knowing well that eloquence in a republic is the best of weapons. To gain the confidence of his fellow-citizens he was always ready to advocate any cause laid before him, and to act as arbiter when it was desired. He was thus quietly strengthening his position, when the Persian war interfered with his schemes. To resist the army of Datis and Artaphernes a general was needed, and not an orator; the honors of the first Persian war fell altogether to Miltiades. Themistokles, questioned by his friends as to his sudden desire for solitude and his depressed, agitated, and thoughtful air, rejoined: "The trophies of Miltiades will not suffer me to sleep." But his opportunity was shortly to come, for in the serious crisis about to fall upon Athens, she would require a man alike incapable of fear and of rashness, whom nothing could surprise, who judged wisely of all things, foresaw results, and instantly provided remedies. This man was Themistokles.

At Marathon he had fought at the side of him who was to be his rival. Aristides had early been distinguished for his severe integrity, and acquired without seeking it the influence Themistokles strove so hard to gain. On the death of Miltiades these two men stood first among the citizens of Athens; but their views differed as did their characters. Themistokles sought his support from the people; Aristides strove rather for the approval of the higher classes. The former had great influence in the assembly, the latter in the courts of justice. No one disputed the ability of Themistokles, but it was known that he had few scruples when success lay through wrong-doing; the integrity of

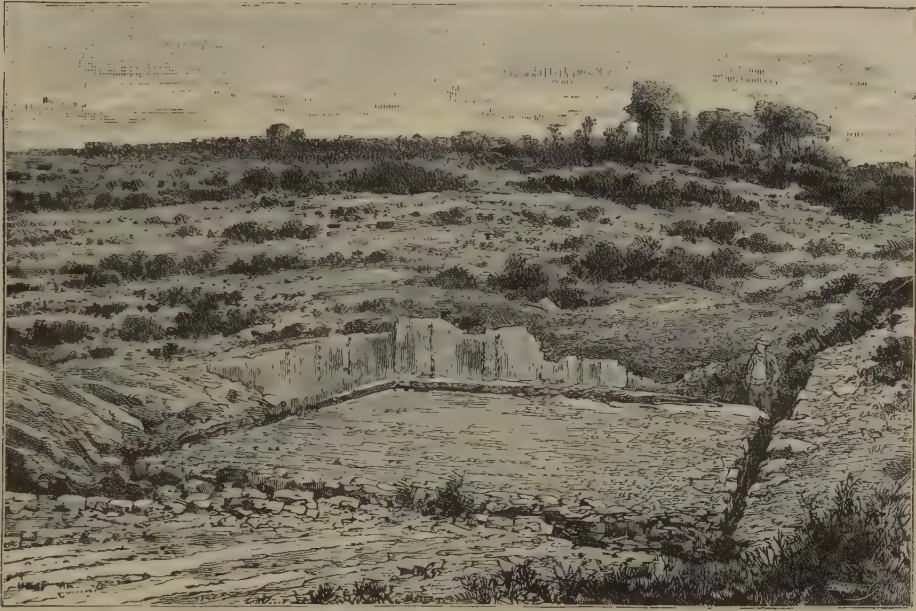
Aristeides, on the contrary, became a proverb. Friendly towards Kleisthenes, and free from any party ties, he was devoted to law and justice. It was his pleasure to preserve old customs and manners, the rustic life, the labors of the fields; his rival, directing the activity of the Athenians towards the sea and commerce, was about to transfer the preponderance from the agriculturists to the merchants, from land-owners to wandering capitalists, from the laborer, attached to his own soil and his own gods, to the sailor, who forgot both. One strove to maintain the aristocratic elements of the State; the other had no fear of any new progress to be made by the democracy. From this opposition sprang continual struggles, which disturbed the peace of the city. "Athens will never be at peace," Aristeides said, "until both Themistokles and myself are cast into the *barathron*."

Themistokles succeeded in bringing to pass the half of this prophecy, Aristeides being the only sufferer. He put in circulation a rumor that Aristeides was arrogating to himself something like regal power, by obtaining the arbitration in all law-suits, and thus leaving the tribunals idle. These charges produced their effect. The services of the good citizen were forgotten; for "gratitude sleeps," says Pindar, and Envy, which had been transferred to Olympos,¹ still prevailed on earth in the minds of the democracy: Aristeides was exiled by ostracism (483 B.C.). It is related that an illiterate citizen, standing beside him in the assembly, begged him to write his own name on the other's voting-tile. "Why do you seek to ostracize Aristeides?" the great Athenian asked; "has he done you injury?" "No," the citizen said, "he has done me no harm, but I am weary of hearing him called 'the just.'" As he left Athens, "the just" Aristeides prayed the gods that no cause might be given to his native land for regretting that he had been sent into exile.

Let us not forget that a century earlier such a rivalry would have been settled by force of arms, and would have deluged the city with blood, instead of being peacefully ended by a vote. Injustice there was, no doubt; but the Athens of Themistokles had gained much over the Athens of Peisistratos: it was her free institutions that saved her from civil war. Moreover, Themistokles

¹ See Vol. I. Chap. VI. § iii.

effaced the memory of this bad action by his services. After Marathon the people believed the war ended; none but himself understood that it was scarcely begun,—that the master of Asia, Thrace, and the islands would not leave unpunished the affront



ANCIENT WASHING PLACE OF ORE IN THE MINES OF LAUREION.¹

he had received from the inhabitants of this little country. He also recognized, and his chief merit is this, that there was safety for the Greeks only in their navy. He persuaded his countrymen of this necessity, and it happened fortunately that they were engaged in a naval war with Aigina at the time; accordingly, they were induced to apply the product of the silver mines of Laureion, which had been hitherto divided among the citizens, to the construction of a hundred galleys.² Before employing them for the

¹ From a photograph.

² The amount distributed was ten drachmas *per capita* (Herod., vii. 144). Silver as well as gold is sometimes found in a completely pure state, and its color, hardness, and freedom from oxidation must early have attracted attention. At Laureion, from Sounion to Thorikos, over a region some miles in breadth, there were veins of argentiferous galenas, whence the Athenians were able to obtain seventy per cent of lead. In the scorïæ which they threw aside our engineers now find from six to fourteen per cent of lead. But the silver which these lead ores furnished amounted it appears, to only one half per cent, which represents, according to the present value of silver, less than twenty dollars to the ton of ore. See Gorceix, *Mines du*

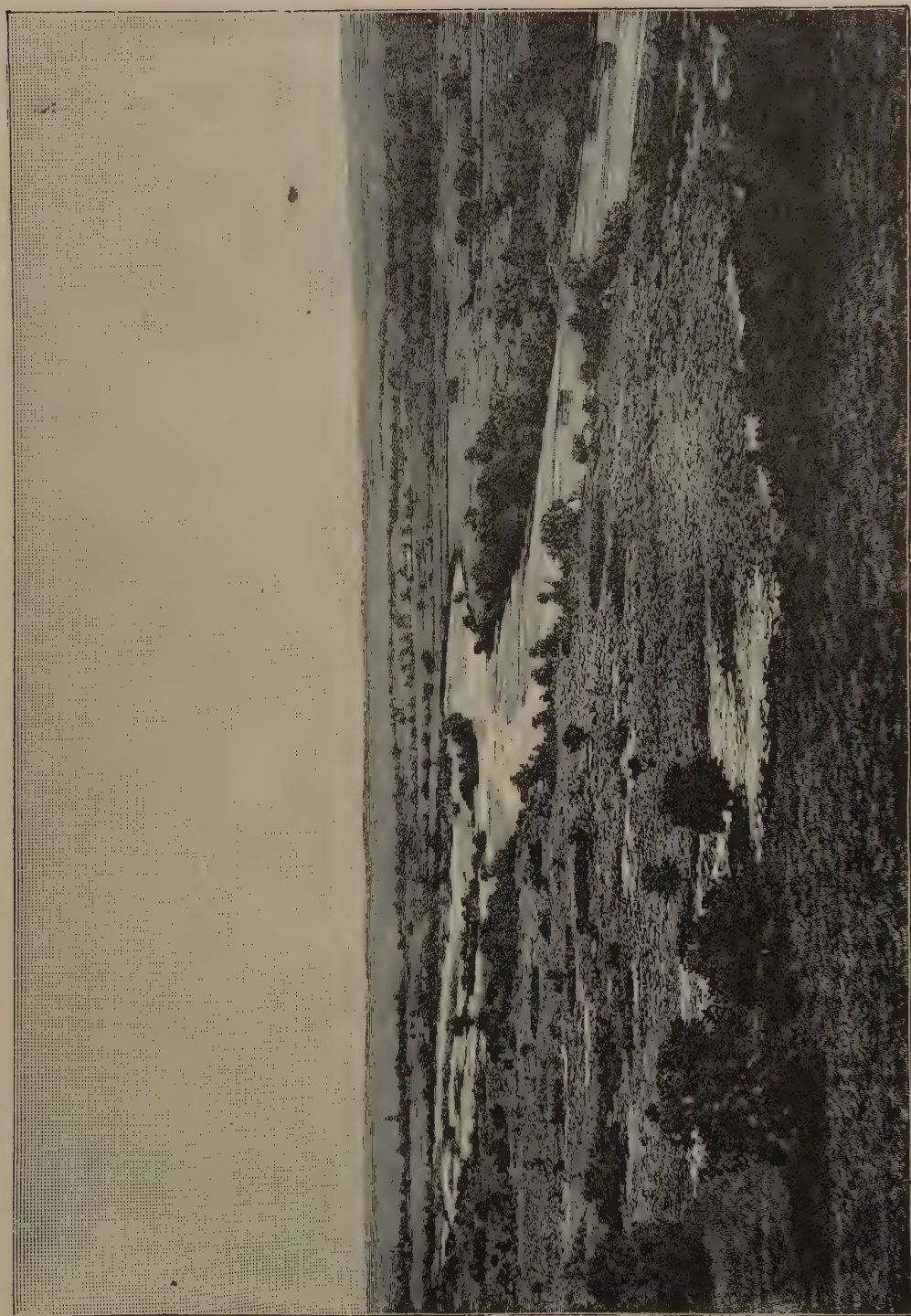
salvation of Athens, he used them in securing her supremacy in Greek waters. This supremacy had been disputed by the Island of Aigina. Themistokles humbled the navy of the Aiginetans; and seeing Athens henceforth mistress of the seas, favored with all his influence the extension of her commerce, which was also the extension of her naval power. When news came that Xerxes was approaching, the city had two hundred galleys habituated to naval manœuvres, and, to shelter them, a splendid harbor, the Peiraieus, which Themistokles had, in a sense, discovered. In the year 493 B. C. he had as archon ordered the abandonment of the roadstead of Phaleron, and obtained a decision of the people to begin the works which made a second Athens around the harbor.

Laurium, and Huet, *Mémoire sur le Laurium*, in the *Mémoires de la Société des Ingénieurs civils*, July–August, 1879, pp. 731 *et seq.*; [also, Böckh, *Dissertation on the Silver Mines of Laurium* (appended to the English translation of his *Public Economy of Athens*), and Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. v. pp. 71 *et seq.* — Ed.]

¹ Helmet (*aulopis*). Head wearing the helmet (*αὐλώπις*), with high crest and *paragnathides*. Underneath, a symbol of uncertain significance. Reverse: incused square. (Silver coin of the Island of Kalymna. Archaic style.)



SILVER COIN.¹



THE VALLEY OF THE SKAMANDER.

From a photograph.

CHAPTER XVII.

SALAMIS AND PLATAIA (480-479 B.C.).

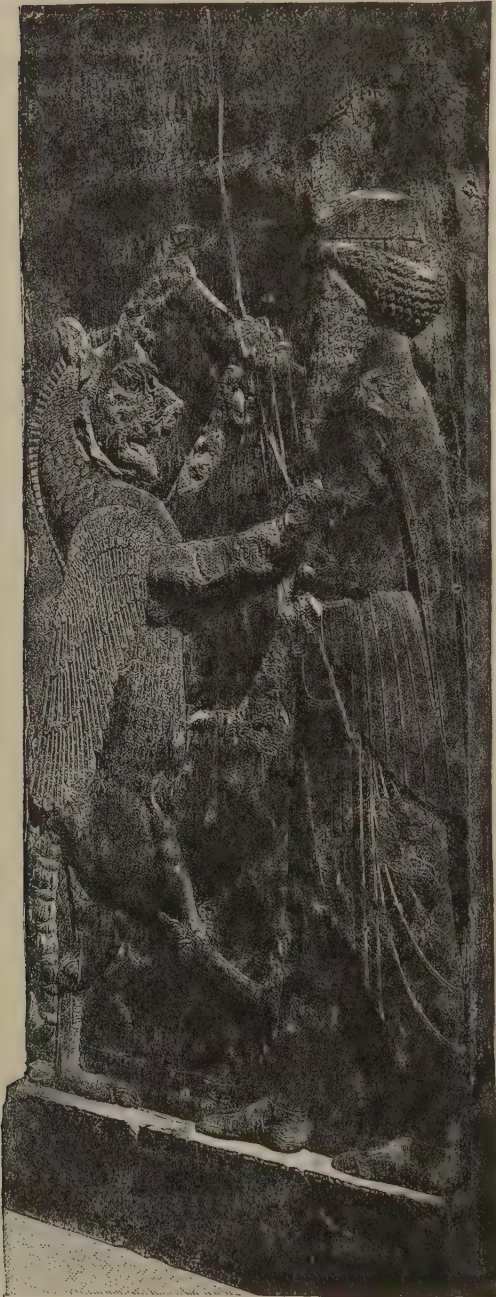
I. — XERXES IN GREECE.

WHEN he heard of the disaster at Marathon, Darius felt that his fame and power were pledged to come victoriously out of this struggle. He, the sovereign of an immense empire, to be defeated by an obscure and petty nation! An outrage like this left unpunished would have been a fatal blow to his supremacy, a dangerous invitation to revolt offered to the many States subject to his sway. That the Scythians had escaped his weapons and baffled his pursuit was because their deserts, not their valor, had got the better of him. Moreover, the conquest of Thrace had banished from his mind the vain attempt upon lands beyond the Danube; and the wandering Scythian tribes had no fixed residence, no central point at which they could build up a power rivalling his own and solidly established. The Greeks, on the contrary, had a territory with definite boundaries, States regularly and sagaciously organized, cities rich and populous. Furthermore, the recent audacity of this people, who a few years earlier had insulted the Great King in his own capital and had mocked at his efforts to punish them, awakened all the old traditional hatred between Asia and Greece which had been the subject of Homer's verse. His immortal epic still kept alive the memory of the fateful struggle on that very plain of Troy which had been its theatre. After a long interval the second act of this great drama was about to begin. The connection between the two wars was clear enough, remote though they were in point of time. When Xerxes advanced to cross the Hellespont he stopped upon the banks of the Skamandros, visited the ruined palace of Priam, and offered sacrifices to the Trojan Athene and to the heroes of the war. In his

turn, Alexander of Macedon, the champion of the West, paid the same homage in the same places; it was, then, in truth the struggle of one continent against another.

During the three years that followed the battle of Marathon all Asia was astir with the enrolment of soldiers, the fitting out of ships, the collecting of horses and provisions. In the fourth year Egypt revolted, and Darius was making ready to march into that country when he died (484 B.C.). The first care of Xerxes, his son and successor, was to stifle the Egyptian revolt; and after accomplishing this he occupied himself with Greece.

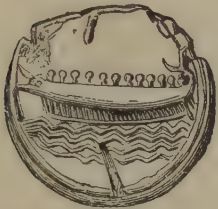
The most ardent advocate of this war was a brother-in-law of the king, the impetuous Mardonios, who aspired to the command and the renown of the expedition. "Europe," he said, "was a very beautiful country, very fertile, and worthy to be possessed by the king alone among mortals." Similar views were urged by those Greek kings whom revolutions had driven to seek



PERSIAN KING DESTROYING A DRAGON.¹

¹ Bas-relief from the palace of Darius, from Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, vol. iii. pl. 17. This is a scene often represented, notably on intaglios. (See J. Mérent, *Recherches*

shelter in Asia. Most important among these were the Peisistratidai, who had not lost, in losing Hippias, all hope of reigning at Athens, and constantly begged to be restored to the throne by Persian arms. They had brought with them to Susa the poet-soothsayer Onomakritos, a great collector of oracles and old poems, to which at need he made additions of his own, and in all of them the king of Persia was represented as predestined to success. We cannot say that Demaratos, the Spartan king banished by Kleomenes,

PERSIAN COIN.¹PERSIAN GALLEY.²

who had departed uttering threats, stood well at court, for he always expressed doubts of the Persian victory; but the Aleuadai, Thessalian princes anxious to strengthen and extend their authority, even at the expense of their dignity, promised to Xerxes the support of all Thessaly. One man alone raised his voice in the council to oppose the enterprise, — Artabanos, the brother of Darius; but a vision in the night which twice alarmed the king during his sleep, and finally appeared to Artabanos himself, effaced all scruples, and the war was determined on.³ After their defeat, the Persians found some excuse for themselves in remembering that the gods had urged them to the fatal expedition.

“Xerxes was employed four whole years,” says Herodotos, “in assembling his forces and providing things necessary for the expedition. In the course of the fifth year he began his march, with a vast multitude of men. For of the expeditions with which we are acquainted, this was by far the greatest. . . . For what nation did not Xerxes lead out of Asia; what stream, being drunk by the army, did not fail him, except the great

sur la glyptique orientale, part ii. pp. 164 *et seq.*) It is borrowed from Assyrian monuments (*Ibid.*, pp. 76–78).

¹ Bearded head of a satrap or of an Achæmenid king, with the Oriental mitre, right profile. Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑ. Lyre (tetradrachm). Waddington conjectures that this is the effigy of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and that it was struck at Kolophon (Waddington, *Mélanges de numismatique*, 1861).

² Reverse of an octodrachm of an Achæmenid king. On the face of this coin is the usual type of the king upon his war-chariot.

³ Herodotos, vii. 12 *et seq.* Herodotos and Aischylos, with the old belief in the jealousy of the gods, regarded the defeat of the Persians as an expiation of their insolent prosperity.

rivers? Some supplied ships; others were ordered to furnish men for the infantry; from others cavalry were required, from others transports for horses, together with men to serve in the army; others had to furnish long ships for bridges, and others provisions and vessels. . . . And having informed himself as to the situations of places, he ordered provisions to be stored where it was most convenient, conveying them to various quarters in merchant vessels and transports from all parts of Asia."

Among other preparations, Xerxes undertook two great engineering works,—the tunnelling of Mount Athos, and the building

of a bridge from Abydos to Sestos; across the strait, that is to say, which separates Asia from Europe. It was not becoming that the haughty master of the East should cross that arm of the sea, like an or-



COIN OF ABYDOS.¹

ordinary mortal, on shipboard; and it was fitting, moreover, to humiliate and punish Athos for the disaster the mountain had caused to the fleet of Mardonios.² A canal was cut across the isthmus which united Mount Athos to the mainland, seven thousand five hundred feet in length, and broad enough for two triremes to pass. Traces of this canal are still visible.

Men from all nations labored on this work, but only the Phoenicians knew how to protect their excavations so that the edges should not fall in, — an accident which, repeatedly occurring,

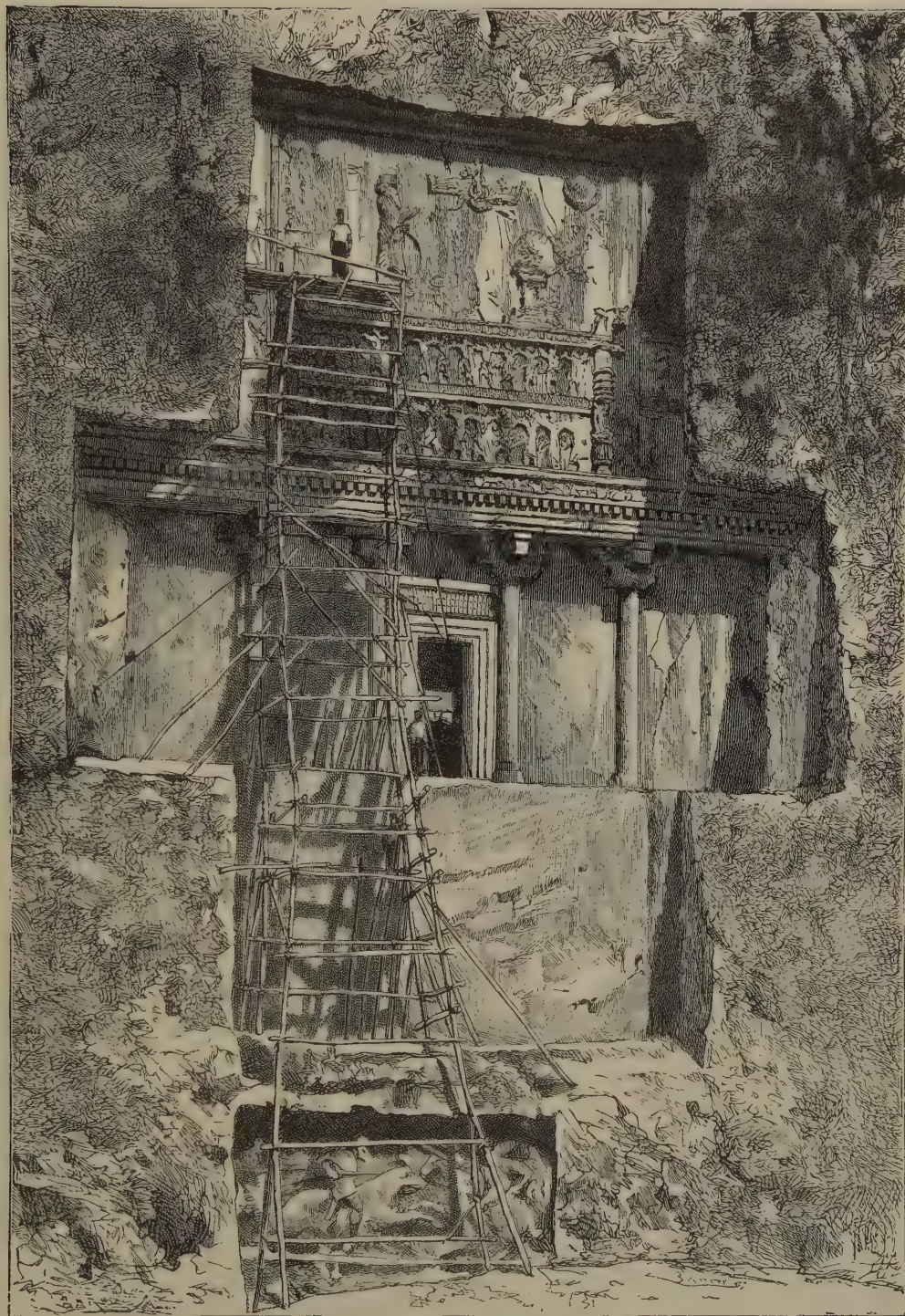


COIN OF SESTOS.³

¹ Diademed head of Artemis, right profile, with the bow and arrow on her shoulder. Reverse, in a laurel wreath, an eagle, with wings displayed; before him, a torch; in the field: ΑΒΥΔΗΝΩΝ. In the exergue, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ, magistrate's name. (Tetradrachm.)

² Greek sailors of the present day still dread the violent winds and currents which make perilous the navigation around Mount Athos (Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii. 145, and Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, ii. 153). In the southern part the canal is still broad and deep; during the rainy season it is useful for drainage. For a length of about six hundred feet in the middle it has been filled up. The greatest height of the isthmus nowhere exceeds fifteen feet; and Herodotos remarks (vii. 24) that Xerxes might have had his vessels dragged across the land, had he not wished to make a display of his power and leave a memorial of himself.

³ Head of Demeter, left profile, the hair covered with a veil (σφενδόνη). Reverse: ΣΗΣΤΙ. Demeter, seated, facing left, and about to light a torch at another torch placed on a low column before her. (Bronze.)



TOMB OF DARIUS.

From Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, vol. i. pl. 10.

caused double labor and doubtless serious disasters to the others. But the despot took delight in these superhuman tasks; the canal was, for the gratification of his pride, what the Memphian pyramid had been to Cheops.

The Greeks had before this time united the two banks of the Hellespont in the graceful legend which narrated the love of



THE HELLESPONT (STRAIT OF DARDANELLES).¹

Hero, priestess of Aphrodite, and Leander, who by night was accustomed to swim across the strait from Sestos to Abydos, guiding himself by the beacon which Hero lighted for him on the tower of Abydos.² Byron repeated this exploit, though without hope of like recompense. The extent of sea to be crossed is not very great,—about five sixths of a mile. Xerxes resolved to bridge it, using rafts strongly secured to each other by cables, which the Egyptians and Phœnicians furnished. A tempest having

¹ From a photograph. The view is taken from Erin-Keui, on the coast of Asia, south of the ancient Abydos, and looking towards the northeast.

² Vergil, Ovid, and Strabo make reference to this story. Their testimony does not prove, as it has been said to do, the authenticity of the legend, but shows it to have been very ancient. The charming poem of Mousaios, which relates it, is, on the contrary, quite modern,—probably the fifth century of the Christian era.

destroyed it, he was exceedingly indignant, says Herodotos, and commanded that the Hellespont should receive three hundred lashes with a scourge, and that a pair of fetters should be thrown into the sea.

"I have heard also," adds the old historian, "that with them he likewise sent branding instruments to brand the Hellespont; and he certainly charged those who flogged the waters to utter these barbarous and impious words: 'O salt sea! thy master inflicts this punishment upon thee because thou hast injured him, although he had done thee no harm. And King Xerxes will cross over thee, whether thou wilt or not; it is with justice that no man sacrifices to thee, because thou art both a deceitful and briny river!'"¹

INTAGLIO.²

If all this took place elsewhere than in the Greek imagination, the Great King was ridiculous; and he was cruel in putting to death those superintendents of the works who were guilty of no other crime than that of being defeated in the struggle he had undertaken against the forces of Nature. The work was begun afresh; vessels were connected together in two lines between the two coasts, and strongly anchored; over these, cables were stretched from shore to shore, and heavy planks laid regularly upon them, equal in length to the width of the bridge, and securely fastened. Lastly, brushwood was laid on top, and earth; and it was fenced in on each side, that the beasts of burden and horses might not be frightened at sight of the sea beneath them. This time the work was secure.

ORMUZD.³

Herodotos thus describes the march.

"The baggage-carriers and beasts of burden first led the way; after them came a host of all nations promiscuously, not distinguished; after more than one half of the army had passed, an interval was left, that

¹ These insults to the sea are quite in accordance with Greek naturalism, but not with the religious ideas of the Persians.

² Magian standing, extending the right hand and adoring the supreme god, Ormuzd, whose bust, with beard and high tiara, is placed upon a crescent. In the field, a star; at the feet of the Magian, the sacred fire. (Cone of sardonyx. Intaglio, height, 21 millim. *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 1,019.)

³ Ormuzd, wearing the radiate kidaris, with wings and tail of a dove, holding with both hands a sceptre, with round top; in the field, a star and a crescent. (Cone of striped agate, height, 20 millim. *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 1,013.)

they might not mix with the king's troops. Before him a thousand horsemen led the van, chosen from among all the Persians; and next to them a thousand spearmen: these also chosen from among all, carrying their lances turned downwards to the earth.

After these came ten sacred horses, called Nisaian, gorgeously caparisoned. These horses are called Nisaian on the following account: there is a large plain in the Median territory which is called the Nisaian plain, and here these large horses are bred. Following them was the sacred chariot of Zeus

[Ormuzd], drawn by eight white horses; behind the horses followed a charioteer on foot, holding the reins, because no mortal ever is seated in this chariot. Behind this came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nisaian horses, and a charioteer walked at his side. In this manner then



WARRIOR OFFERING A LIBATION.¹



SILVER COIN.²

Xerxes marched out of Sardis; and when he thought fit he passed from the chariot to a covered carriage. Behind him marched a thousand spearmen, the bravest and most noble of the Persian army, carrying their spears in the usual fashion; and after them another body of a thousand horse, chosen from

among the Persians; after the cavalry marched ten thousand picked men. These were infantry, and a thousand of them had golden pomegranates on their spears instead of ferules, and they enclosed the others on every side; but the nine thousand marching within had silver pomegranates. Those also that carried the point of their spears turned downwards had golden pomegranates, and those that followed nearest to Xerxes had golden apples. Behind the ten thousand foot were placed ten thousand Persian cavalry, and after the cavalry was left an interval of twelve hundred and fifty feet; and then the rest of the throng followed promiscuously. . . . When they had reached Abydos, Xerxes wished to behold the whole army. And there had been previously erected on a hill at this place, for his express use, a lofty throne of white marble: the people of Abydos had made it, in obedience to a previous order of the king. When he was seated there, looking down

¹ Bearded warrior in Assyrian costume, having before him an unlighted pyre, offering libation to Belos, armed with a thunderbolt, and standing on a ball. At the left a bearded sphinx with lifted paw. In the field, the crescent, the seven stars, the sun, and a sceptre surmounted by a globe. (Cylinder of agate-onyx, height, 20 millim. *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 933.)

² Persian warrior kneeling to the right and drawing his bow; behind him the ansate cross. Incused square. Reverse: Persian warrior on horseback, stepping to the left, his bow hanging at his side. In the exergue traces of an Aramaic legend, — perhaps the name of the city of Tarsos. (Silver coin of an unknown satrap.)

towards the shore he beheld both the land army and the fleet, and he desired to see a contest take place between the ships; and when it had taken place, and the Sidonian Phœnicians were victorious, he showed himself extremely gratified both with the contest and the army. When he saw the whole Hellespont covered by the ships, and all the shores and the plains of Abydos full of men, Xerxes thereupon pronounced himself happy, but afterwards shed tears. Artabanos, his father's brother, having observed

SILVER COIN.¹

him,—the same who had freely declared his opinion and advised Xerxes not to invade Greece,—this man, perceiving that Xerxes wept, addressed him thus: ‘O king, how different is your present conduct from what you lately were doing! Having pronounced yourself happy, you now shed

tears!’ And Xerxes replied: ‘Commiseration seized me when I considered how brief all human life is, since of these, numerous as they are, not one will survive to the hundredth year!’”

But the Great King fell far short of the truth; he might have said, “not one will be alive a year hence.”

On the following day the troops waited under arms for the rising of the sun, in the mean time burning all sorts of perfumes on the bridges, and strewing the road with myrtle-branches. As the sun appeared above the horizon, Xerxes from a golden cup poured a libation into the sea and offered a prayer to the sun that no accident might befall him or stop his course until he had subdued Europe to the uttermost limit. Then he threw the cup into the Hellespont, and a golden bowl and a Persian scymitar. “But I cannot determine,” says Herodotos, “whether he cast these things into the sea as a libation to the Sun, or whether he repented having scourged the Hellespont, and offered these gifts by way of compensation.”

MAGIAN ADORING.²

¹ Achaimenid king, bearded, wearing the kidaris and moving to the right. In the field a grain of barley. Reverse: MAA. Herakles strangling the Nemean lion; behind him his club. (Coin struck at Mallos in Kilikia.)

² Magian, standing, worshipping a god, also standing, holding the sickle and the club. Between a pyre surmounted by a globe; at the right a tree against which two goats rear, while two birds are about to light on the upper branches of it. A figure kneeling, having a cock's head, surmounted by a scorpion, seems to be adoring the tree. (Cylinder in hematite. Height. 18 millim. *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 855.)

The army occupied seven days and nights in crossing; and when the entire multitude had reached the European side, Xerxes resolved to number it. As grain is measured in the bushel, so was measured this human harvest, so soon to be reaped by the sword of the Greeks. In the great plain of Doriskos, on the shore of the Hebros, the computation was made. "Having drawn together ten thousand men in one place, and having crowded them as close together as was possible, they traced a circle on the outside; they then removed the men, and built a low wall enclosing the space. Having done this, they made others enter within the enclosure, until they had in this manner computed all."¹ The numbers given by Herodotos are prodigious. While admitting that he has not precise information, he estimates the Asiatic forces at 1,700,000 foot, 80,000 horse, 20,000 men on camels or in chariots, 517,000 rowers and fighting-men in 3,000 transports, and 1,200 war-ships; and to this must be added 324,000 men and 120 triremes from Thrace and the adjacent provinces,—which gives a total of 2,640,000 combatants. The attendants, slaves, crews of provision-ships, etc., he estimates at nearly an equal number, so that in all there must have been about five millions of men.³ It seemed that there would be no need of fighting; Greece would be literally submerged under this human tide rushing in upon it. "Do you think the Greeks will fight?" Xerxes asked of Demoratos; and the Spartan replied: "O king, poverty has ever been familiar to Greece, but virtue has been acquired, having been accomplished by wisdom and firm laws, by the aid of which Greece has warded off poverty and tyranny. I commend, indeed, all the Greeks, but I will speak of

DECADRACHM.²

¹ Herodotos, vii. 60.

² ΔΕΠΡΟ, retrograde. Man holding a caduceus, standing by a pair of oxen. Reverse, incused square. (Decadrachm in the archaic style of Derronikos, king of Bisaltia or of Odontia, about 480 B. C.)

³ The exactness of these statements has been doubted for myself, I cannot but feel great confidence in this enumeration which Herodotos makes, although I admit that, writing as he did forty years after the events, he may have transmitted to us figures magnified by the imagination of the Greeks. Certainly the number of slaves and followers could never have been known. In his *Persians*, Aischylos, an eye-witness, tells us that 1,207 vessels were engaged at Salamis.

the Spartans only. . . . They will meet you in battle, even if all the rest of the Greeks should side with you. With respect to their number, you need not ask how many they are that are able to do this, for if a thousand men, or more, or even less, should have marched out, they will certainly give you battle. . . . Though free, they have a master over them,—the law,—which they fear much more than your subjects fear you. Whatever it enjoins, they do; and it ever enjoins this one thing,—that they



LIONESS FOUND AT KORKYRA.¹

should not flee from battle before any number of men, but remain in their ranks and conquer or die.” Then the master of these soldiers who were scourged to the battle-field laughed as he heard this incredible thing, namely, that there were men who marched willingly to death or victory because the law commanded them to do so.

The strange aspect of this vast multitude was further enhanced by their tumultuous advance, their grotesque costumes, and their diverse weapons: the Persians, Medes, and Hyrcanians, with particolored garments, breast-plates with iron scales, light bucklers

¹ From a photograph reproduced in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1876, p. 271 (A. Dumont). Concerning the place where this antique was found, see O. Riemann, *Recherches archéologiques sur les îles Ioniennes*, I. Corfou (in the *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasciculum viii.) pp. 23 and 41. This lioness of calcareous stone was discovered in a nekropolis not far from the celebrated tomb of Menekrates, which is yet in its original position (Riemann, p. 30), and whose inscription belongs to the primitive Korkyreian alphabet (Röhl, *Inscr. graec. antiquiss.*, No. 342). The sculpture is very ancient, and still betrays an imitation of the Egyptian style; but even here the design of the head, though heavy, shows originality. The head itself is slightly turned to the right; the structure of the skull and the folds of the skin are indicated. Cf. Vol. I. p. 190, the gold lion found at Mykenai.

of wicker-work, arrows made of cane, short spears, long bows, and a dagger on the right thigh; the Assyrians, with strange helmets of twisted brass, and wooden clubs with iron projections; the Sakians, with tall pointed caps, and armed with battle-axes; the Indians, clad in cotton garments, with bows and arrows made of cane; the Caspians, wearing goat-skin mantles and carrying scymitars; the Arabians, with cloaks fastened by a girdle; the Ethiopians, in panthers' and lions' skins, with bows four cubits long, and arrows tipped with sharp stones, their bodies smeared for battle half with chalk and half with red ochre; the Asiatic Ethiopians, wearing on their heads skins of horses' heads as masks, stripped off with the ears and mane, the mane serving as a crest, and the ears fixed erect; the Kolchians, with wooden helmets and shields of raw hide and short lances. All these and countless other tribes in other costumes, the whole force under command of Mardonios, with five other generals.²

COIN OF GELON.¹

It is not strange that rivers were drained dry by this prodigious horde, or that wide lands could not produce food enough for them.

"Those of the Greeks who received the army and entertained Xerxes," says Herodotos, "were reduced to extreme distress, so that they were obliged to abandon their homes. . . . For the banquet was ordered long beforehand, and considered of great importance. In the first place, as soon as the heralds made proclamation the citizens distributed among themselves all the corn that was in the cities, and made flour and meal for many months; and in the next place they fatted cattle, the best that could be bought, and fed land and water fowl in coops and ponds for the entertainment of the army; moreover, they made gold and silver cups and vessels and table utensils of every kind. But these latter things were prepared only for the king himself and for those who sat at table with him; for all the rest provisions only were required. When the army arrived, a tent was quickly pitched, in which Xerxes himself lodged; but the troops remained in the open air. When meal-time came, those who received them had all

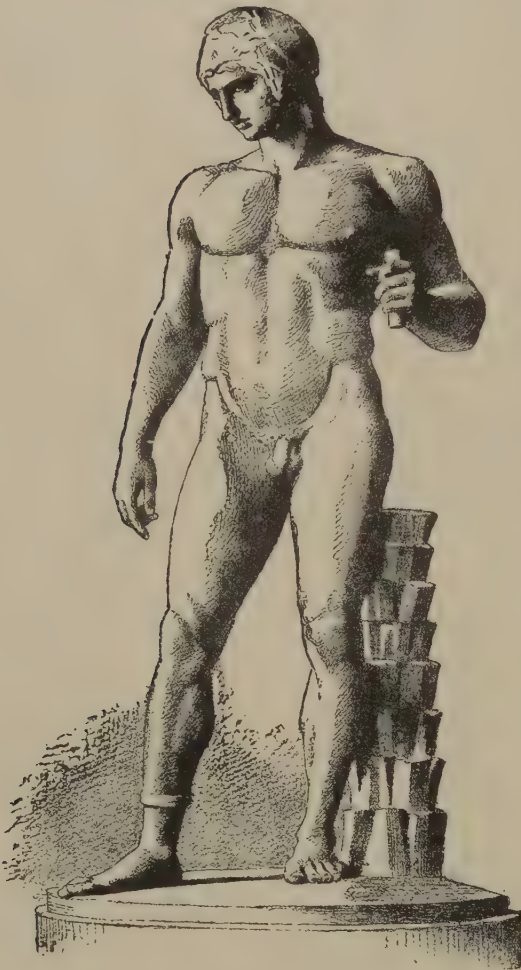
¹ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Diademed head of Gelon (?), right profile. Reverse: lion facing right with lifted paw; in the field a club; in the exergue the letter Γ. (Bronze.)

² The Lydians, Pamphylians, Cypriots, Karians, Asiatic Greeks, and a few Egyptians, — that is to say, the troops upon whom the king could least depend, — were the only ones suitably armed for battle. All the rest were very badly equipped.

the trouble; and the guests, after they had eaten and slept, on the following day, having torn up the tent and taken all the furniture, went away, leaving nothing, but carrying everything with them. On this occasion a

sagacious remark was made by Magakrion of Abdera, who advised his fellow-citizens to go with their wives into the temples and pray the gods to avert the half of future evils that were to come upon them, and express their hearty thanks as to the past that King Xerxes was not accustomed to take food twice a day; for if they had been ordered to prepare a dinner for the king as well as a supper, they would either have been compelled to abandon their city and flee before the army arrived, or would have been reduced to beggary by its coming."

The supper furnished by the city of Thasos cost four hundred talents [nearly a half million dollars], — the entire tribute of Asia Minor for a year, and nearly the amount (460 talents) that Athens required of her allies for securing them against the return of the Persian rule.



THE BORGHESI MARS.¹

On the banks of the Strymon the Magians made a sacrifice of white horses; in the place called the Nine Ways they buried alive nine boys and nine girls, children of the inhabitants. So far Xerxes had not gone beyond his own territory. One man only had dared to resist his authority;

¹ Marble statue in the Louvre (W. Fröhner, *Notice de la Sculpture antique*, No. 127). This statue has long been known under the name of the Borghese Achilles. The god, as a young, beardless man, holds his lance in the left hand; he has a helmet on his head, and the ring on his right ankle indicates perhaps that he wore leggings. There are numerous replicas of this statue; the original doubtless belonged to the fifth century B. C.

this was a Thracian king of Bisaltia, who, as Xerxes approached, retreated into the fastnesses of Mount Rhodope, enjoining upon his sons not to engage in the expedition against Greece. They, however, from a desire to see the war, says Herodotos, served in the Persian army; but when they all returned safe, being six in number, their father had their eyes put out on account of this disobedience.

Meanwhile the Greeks were in the same state of dismay as is the mountaineer who hears the avalanche moving above his dwelling.¹ Among themselves there were traitors, — nor is this marvellous; what love of country and of liberty, what courage it required to await with calmness and resolution a destruction which appeared certain! But Prometheus also had felt the earth tremble under him, and heard the thunder roll above his head, and had not yielded; the Athenians and Spartans had the courage that legend attributes to the Titan of the Caucasus.



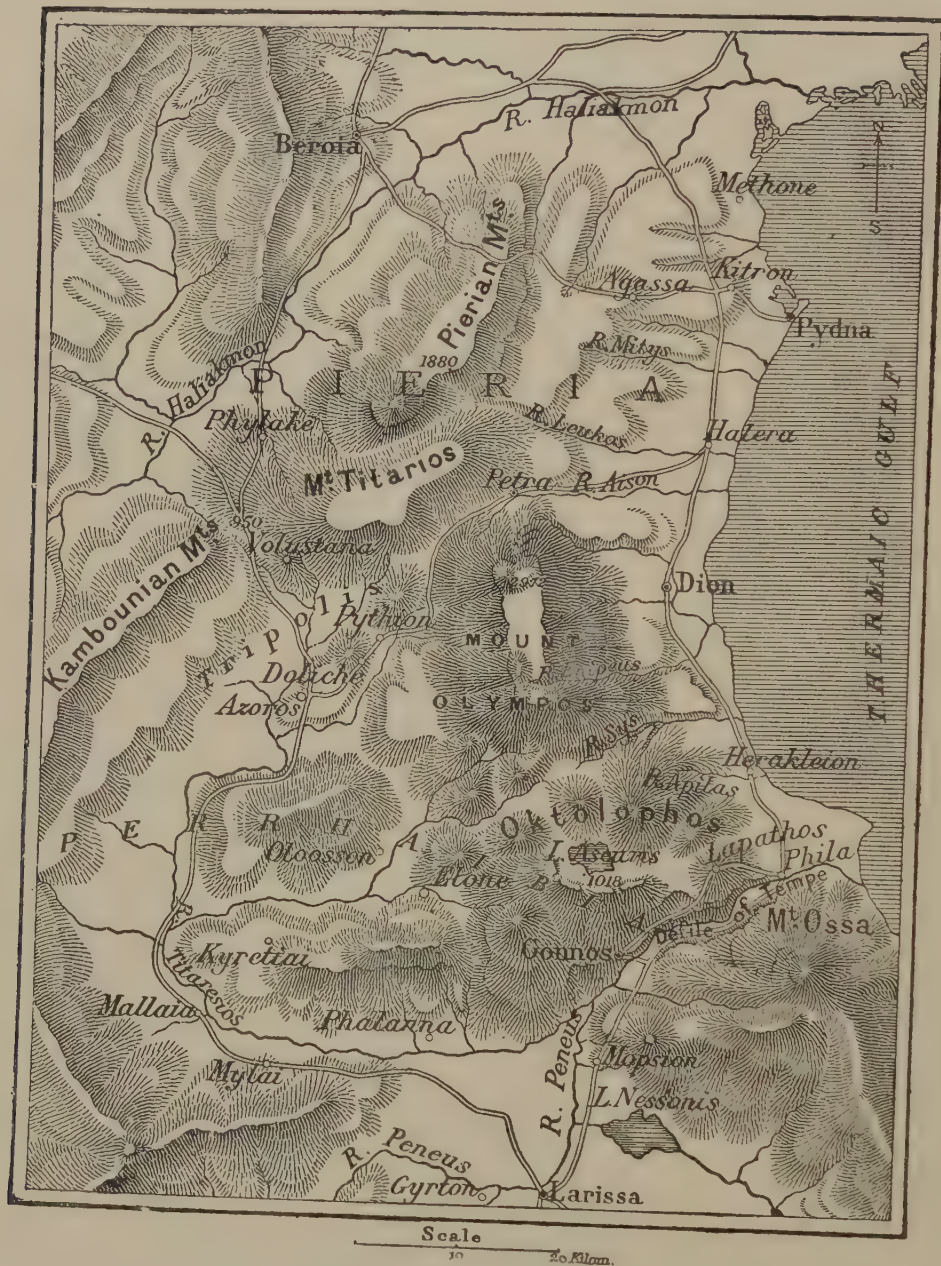
COIN OF ALEXANDER I., OF MACEDON.²

At the first rumor of the king's movements the Greeks had sent spies to Sardis to ascertain his strength. They were discovered; but Xerxes, instead of putting them to death, gave orders that they should be shown everything, then sent them away terror-stricken. He had himself despatched to the Greeks heralds to receive the homage of those whom the rumor of his warlike preparations had terrified. The people of Thessaly and of Doris, the Lokrians, Thebes, and all the rest of Boiotia except the Thespians and Plataians, made submission to the Great King. The people of Argos, enfeebled by a recent loss of six thousand men, slain by Kleomenes after his invasion of Argolis, brought forward ancient claims to make for themselves a pretext of neutrality; and the Achaïans did the same.

¹ Pindar says, "Some deity has turned aside from us the rock of Tantalos that was hung over our heads" (*Isthm.*, vii. 20). The poet-bishop Synesius uses the same figure in speaking of the Gothic invasion.

² Warrior, having on his head the Macedonian petasos, called *kausia*; he is armed with two lances, and stands beside his horse. Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ, in an incused square. (Octodrachm of archaic style.)

Those of the Greeks who still preserved their love of country gathered at the Isthmus of Corinth, and agreed, first of all, to



MAP OF OLYMPOS AND THE VALLEY OF TEMPE.

put an end to their hostilities with one another; Athens and Aigina became friends. Then envoys were despatched to Korkyra,

Korfu, Krete, and in Sicily to Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse; but they had little success. Korkyra replied that she would send sixty vessels, but she did not send them; detained by the north winds of the Archipelago, she declared after the victory they were not able to double Cape Malea. Krete entirely refused assistance. Gelon offered to send a large contingent, but on condition that he should command either the fleet or the army. The Spartans were extremely indignant at the idea of being under the orders of a Syracusan, claiming the generalship as Herakleids and representatives of Agamemnon; and the Athenians declared that if Sparta relinquished the command of the fleet, they themselves should claim it as a right. "It appears," Gelon replied, "that you have commanders in abundance, but not men to be commanded. Return at once, and tell Greece that the year has lost its spring-time," — by this indicating that Greece, without his alliance, was like the year deprived of its most favorable season. The failure of this attempt to secure aid from Syracuse is more easily explained when we read that Gelon at this time had to keep watch against three hundred thousand Carthaginians.

Thus the Greeks, instead of uniting against this great danger, stood apart. But Athens, in her determination to conquer or die, was to save them.

"And here," says Herodotos, "I feel constrained to declare my opinion, although it may excite the jealousy of many; but I will not refrain from saying what I believe to be the truth. If the Athenians, terrified by the impending danger, had abandoned their country, or, not having abandoned it, but remaining in it, had given themselves up to Xerxes, no other people would have attempted to resist the king at sea. If, then, no one had opposed Xerxes by sea, the following things must have occurred by land. Although many lines of walls had been built by the Peloponnesians across the isthmus, yet the Spartans, being abandoned by the allies (not willingly, but of necessity, they being taken by the Barbarian, city by city), would have been left alone; and being left alone, after displaying noble deeds, would have died nobly; or, before that, seeing the rest of the Greeks siding with the Medes, would have made terms with Xerxes; and so, in either case, Greece would have become subject to the Persians."

The oracle of Delphi, consulted by the Athenians, had meantime given only obscure and alarming replies.

“For the Athenians, having sent deputies to Delphi,” says Herodotos, “were anxious to consult the oracle; and after they had performed the usual ceremonies about the temple, when they entered the sanctuary and sat down, the Pythia, whose name was Aristonika, uttered this warning: ‘O wretched men, why sit ye here? Fly to the ends of the earth, leaving your houses and the lofty summits of your wheel-shaped city. For neither does the head remain firm, nor the body, nor feet, nor hands, nor is aught of the middle left; but they are all fallen into ruins. For fire and fleet Ares, driving the Syrian chariot, destroys it. And he will destroy many other turrets, and not yours alone; and he will deliver many temples of the immortal gods to devouring fire, which now stand dripping with sweat, shaken with terror; and from the topmost roofs trickles black blood, pronouncing inevitable woe. Go, therefore, from the sanctuary, and fill your minds with courage to meet misfortune.’

“The deputies of the Athenians, having heard this, deemed it a very great calamity; and as they were cast down on account of the predicted evil, Timon, son of Androboulos, a man of high repute at Delphi, advised them to take supplicatory branches and go again and consult the oracle as suppliants. This they did accordingly, saying: ‘O king, vouchsafe to give us a more favorable answer concerning our country, having regard to these supplicatory branches which we have brought with us; or else we will never depart from thy sanctuary, but will remain here till we die.’ When they had said this, the priestess gave a second answer, in these terms: ‘Pallas is unable to propitiate Olympian Zeus, entreating him with many a prayer and prudent counsel. But to you again I utter this speech, making it like adamant; for when all is taken that the wall of Kekrops contains, and the recesses of divine Kithairon, wide-seeing Zeus gives a wooden wall to the Triton-born goddess, to be alone impregnable, which shall preserve you and your children. Neither wait quietly for the cavalry and infantry coming on in multitudes, but turn your back and withdraw; you will still be able to face them. O divine Salamis! thou shalt cause the sons of women to perish, whether Demeter is scattered or gathered in.’

“Having written this answer down,—for it appeared to them of milder import than the former one,—they departed for Athens; and when the deputies on their return reported it to the people, many different opinions were given by persons endeavoring to discover the meaning of the oracle; and amongst them the two following, most opposed to each other. Some of the old men said that they thought the god foretold that the Akropolis should be saved; for the Akropolis was defended by a hedge: they therefore, on account of the hedge, conjectured that this was the wooden wall. Others, however, said that the god alluded to their ships, and therefore

advised that, abandoning everything else, they should get them ready. However, the two last lines spoken by the Pythia perplexed those who said that the wooden wall meant the ships: 'O divine Salamis! thou shalt cause the sons of women to perish, whether Demeter is scattered or gathered in.' By these words the opinions of those who said that the ships were the wooden wall were disturbed; for the interpreters of oracles took them to mean that they should be defeated off Salamis if they prepared for a sea-fight.

"There was a certain Athenian lately risen to eminence whose name was Themistokles; this man maintained that the interpreters had not rightly understood the whole, saying that if the word that had been uttered really did refer to the Athenians, he did not think that it would have been expressed so mildly, 'O divine Salamis!' but rather, 'O unhappy Salamis!' if the inhabitants were about to perish on its shores; therefore whoever understood the words rightly would conclude that the oracle was spoken against their enemies, and not against the Athenians. He advised them, therefore, to make preparations for fighting by sea, since that was the wooden wall. And Themistokles having thus declared his opinion, the Athenians considered it preferable to that of the interpreters, who advised them not to make any resistance at all, but abandon the Attic territory and settle in some other."¹

Immense activity prevailed, in accordance with these views. A hundred and twenty-seven triremes were armed; fifty-five others would shortly follow them; and the public mind was reconciled to the idea of quitting home and fireside, and fighting at sea.

Meanwhile two plans had been successively adopted in regard to the land forces. At the time when Xerxes was about to cross the Hellespont, ten thousand Greeks had been sent to the defile of Tempe to bar this entrance into Greece.² This was to risk them very far from home, and in a country known to be unfriendly. Upon receiving information from Alexander of Macedon that the Kambounian mountains might be crossed and the Greek position turned, the Greeks moved away from the valley of Tempe, where they were in danger also of being attacked in the rear by a landing of the Persians south of Ossa.³ Moreover it was prudent

¹ Herodotos, vii. 140-143.

² See Vol. I. pp. 128-129.

³ The road actually taken by the Persians lay through Upper Macedon, the country of the Perrhaiboi, and the city of Younos (Herodotos vii. 173).

not to extend the disposable forces too widely, as this would have weakened them; and, on the contrary, it was important to concentrate the defence in the heart of the country. The army therefore fell back upon another defile which must be traversed by any invaders seeking to reach Central Greece from Thessaly. This pass was not quite fifty feet wide in its narrow portion, and even for a short distance at two points on either side of the hot salt springs, — which give the pass its name, Thermopylai, — it further contracts, leaving only space for a single chariot to pass. These two narrow openings, a little more than a mile apart, are, so to speak, the two gates of the defile; between them lies a plain a half-mile broad, in which the hot springs have covered the ground with a deposit of carbonate of chalk and sulphur in vivid colors of red and yellow. On the west Thermopylai is shut in by an almost inaccessible spur of Oita; and on the east by the sea and impassable marshes. The Phokidians had in ancient times barred this road by a wall in which was a gate; at the time of the Median war this was in ruins, and it was rebuilt to strengthen the defence. Magazines of provisions were established at Alpenoi.

Such was the narrow passage which the Greeks were determined to hold against the Persian army.¹ Near the spot their fleet took up a position no less advantageous, off Artemision, — a promontory on the coast of Eubœia where stood a sanctuary of Artemis.

II. — ARTEMISION AND THERMOPYLAI.

WHEN, near the close of June, 480 B. C., the Greek fleet and army had taken the positions assigned to them, Xerxes was already in Pieria. As his army advanced into Thessaly by a wide road cut through the forests of the Kambounian Mountains,

¹ It is but a mile and a half from Mount Knemis on the mainland to the shore of Eubœia. All the western coast has greatly changed since the time of Herodotos; the land has gained three or four miles in breadth, owing to alluvial deposits; the Sperchios flows farther southward, and receives the Dyras, the Melas, and the Asopos, which formerly fell into the sea. The foot-path of Ephialtes over the top of the mountain is now the road between Zeitoun (Lamia) and Salona (Amphissa), on the Gulf of Corinth.

his fleet kept along the coast, moving southward. An advance-guard of fast-sailing ships having captured two Greek vessels, the handsomest sailor of the crew was put to death on his ship's prow, the Barbarians deeming it a good omen that their first Greek captive was of remarkable beauty, and being accustomed to mark their route with human sacrifices. Two hundred and sixty-one Greek vessels were stationed at Artemision.¹ On the enemy's approach they drew back into the Euripos. On learning that the sea was clear of vessels, the Persian fleet advanced towards the Maliaic Gulf; but, surprised on this shelterless coast by a three days' storm, more than four hundred war-ships were lost, with all on board, and a great number of transports. The Athenians attributed this disaster to the favor of Boreas, "their son-in-law,"² and of Poseidon, one of their divine patrons: the former gained a temple, which was built to him after the war on the banks of the Ilissos; the second a title, that of the Deliverer. After the storm was

POSEIDON.³

over, the Greeks returned, and fifteen Persian vessels fell into their hands; but so great was the superiority of the Persian fleet that the generals of Xerxes feared nothing except that the Greeks might escape from them. Seeing that Poseidon and the winds had still left them so much to do, the Spartan Eurybiades, who commanded the allied Greeks, and Adeimantos, the Corinthian admiral, were disposed to retire from Artemision. But Themistokles had accepted from the Euboians a bribe of thirty talents to keep the

¹ According to the enumeration of Herodotos there were in all 333 vessels, besides nine fifty-oared galleys.

² According to legend, Boreas, the god of the winds, had married Oreithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens (Herodotos, vii. 189). See Vol. I. p. 215.

³ Bas-relief in the Palace Mattei at Rome, from Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, atlas, pl. 12, No. 3. The god is stepping to the right, carrying his trident on the left shoulder.

fleet near Euboia, and there give battle to the Persians. Themistokles, to persuade the two commanders, gave to one five talents, and to the other three, as if from himself; thus reserving much the largest share. Shortly after, a deserter from the Persian fleet

BRONZE.¹

came to the Greeks, making known to them that two hundred vessels had been sent to sail around far outside of Euboia, quite out of sight, and enter the Euripos from the south; thus taking the Greek fleet in the rear, while the remaining Persian ships would attack them in front. The Greeks held a council, and decided to sail southward and meet the two hundred as soon as they should come in sight; but no enemy appearing from that quarter, after sufficient delay they advanced against the bulk of the Persian fleet. For the attack they formed in a circle, facing outwards against the Barbarians, who surrounded them from all sides with their more numerous and swifter ships. The signal for battle being given, the Greeks attacked; but night shortly coming on put an end to the engagement, and the Greeks drew off to Artemision, having taken thirty of the enemy's vessels. The night which followed was still more disastrous to the Persians. Heavy rain fell, accompanied with thunder,—greatly dismaying the sailors; while the two hundred vessels that were going round Euboia, encountering the tempest in the open sea, suffered shipwreck, and all perished. "All this was done by the god," says Herodotos, "that the Persian force might be reduced more nearly to equality with the Greek."

On the following day, fifty-three Athenian vessels arriving as a reinforcement, the Greeks offered battle, which the Persians refused; but a squadron of Kilikian ships were destroyed. And now the Persian commanders, beginning to fear the displeasure of Xerxes, on the third day brought all their vessels into action: both sides lost heavily; half of the Athenian vessels were disabled, and the Greek leaders discussed the expediency of a retreat. The news that the pass of Thermopylai had been forced decided them.

While the fleet withdrew, Themistokles, having selected the best sailing ships of the Athenians, visited all the points along

¹ Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens, with the prow of a galley; in front, an owl. Legend: ΑΘΗ(ναίων). On the face is the head of Athene (Beulé, p. 313).

the shore where the enemy were likely to land to obtain water, and cut in the rocks these words, addressed to the Ionians, and designed either to make them objects of suspicion to the Great King, or to secure their defection:—

“Men of Ionia, you do wrong in fighting against your fathers and helping to enslave Greece,—rather, therefore, come over to us; or, if you cannot do that, withdraw your forces from the contest, and entreat the Karians to do the same. But if neither of these things is possible, and you are bound by too strong a necessity to be able to revolt, yet in action, when we are engaged, behave ill on purpose, remembering that you are descended from us, and that the enmity of the Barbarian against us originally sprang from you.”

The artifice was successful; in the midst of the battle of Salamis, the Phœnicians accused the Ionians of treason.

During these naval engagements the battle of Thermopylai took place on land. The time when the resolution had been taken to defend the pass was just on the eve of the Olympic Games and of the festivals of Apollo Karneios at Sparta, which lasted nine days. Extreme as was the danger, the Greeks did not abandon their festivals; a small force, scarcely more than an advance-guard, was sent to Thermopylai, consisting of three hundred Spartans selected from heads of families, five hundred men from Tegea and as many more from Mantinea, a hundred and twenty from Orchomenos in Arkadia, and from the rest of Arkadia a thousand, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Phlious, and eighty from Mykenai. From Boiotia came seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans. Moreover the Opountian Lokrians sent all the forces they had, and Phokis a thousand men. Some doubt existed as to the fidelity of Thebes, and Leonidas regarded the Theban contingent as rather hostages than auxiliaries. Each of these small bodies of soldiers had its own leader, but were all under command of the king of Sparta.

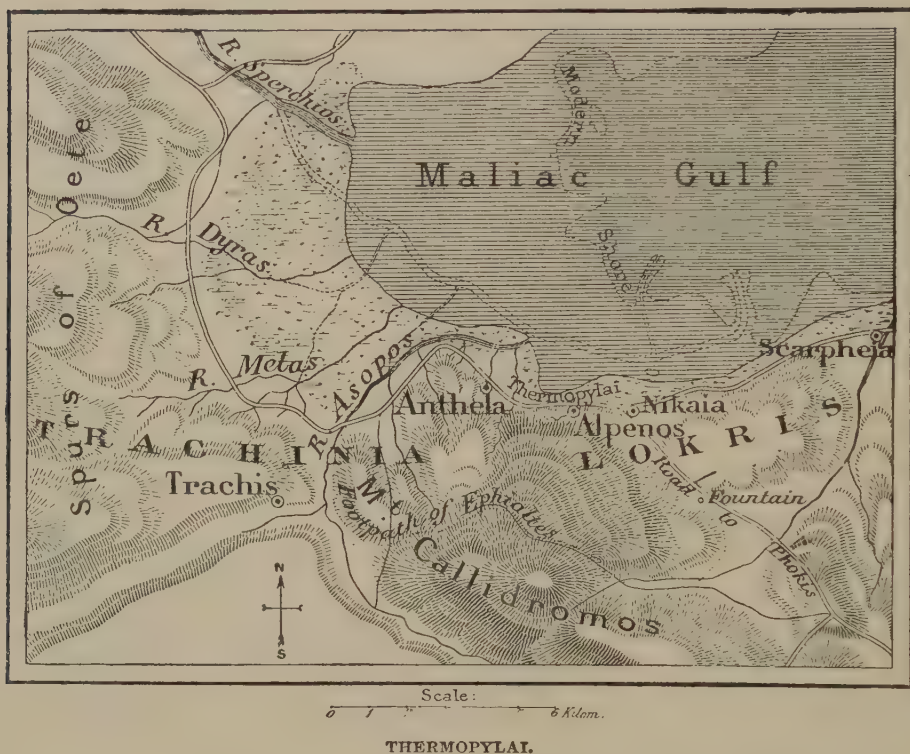
For four days Xerxes flattered himself that the mere sight of



XERXES (?).¹

¹ Achaimenid king, perhaps Xerxes, wearing the crenellated kidaris, standing, and drawing the bow. (Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*, *Catalogue* No. 104. Saphirine chalcidony. Height 25 millim.; breadth, 15.)

his army would decide the Greeks to surrender. They were, in fact, alarmed, and retreat was spoken of: the majority of the Peloponnesian commanders proposed falling back upon the Isthmus of Corinth and there establishing their defence; but this measure was defeated by the indignant refusal of Leonidas and the men from Phokis and Lokris. On the fifth day, as the little



force at Thermopylai showed no intention of retreating. Xerxes sent a body of Median troops with orders to take them alive and bring them into his presence. The Medes attacked, but were repulsed with great loss; others followed to the charge, and also lost heavily; and it became apparent to Xerxes that his army contained indeed many men, but few soldiers.

"When the Medes had been roughly handled," says Herodotos, "they thereupon fell back, and the Persians, who were called the 'Immortals,' taking their place, advanced to the attack, thinking that they indeed should easily settle the business. But when they engaged with the Greeks, they succeeded no better than the Medic troops, for as they fought in a narrow space and used shorter spears than the Greeks, they

had no advantage from their numbers. The Spartans fought memorably, and when they retreated, did so in close order, drawing on the Persians, who followed with a shout and clamor; then the Greeks, being overtaken, faced about, destroying an inconceivable number of Persians, and themselves experiencing some loss. In the end the Persians, unable to gain anything in their attempt on the pass, fell back.

"On the following day the Barbarians fought with no better success, when, knowing that the Greeks were few in number, and supposing that they were covered with wounds and unable to make any further stand, they renewed the contest. This time the Greeks were marshalled in companies, according to their several nations, and each fought in turn, the Phokians only excepted, who were stationed at the mountain to guard the footpath. When, therefore, the Persians found nothing different from what they had seen on the preceding day, they fell back.

"While Xerxes was in doubt what course to take, Ephialtes, a Malian, came to him, expecting to receive a great reward, and informed him of the path which leads over the mountain to Thermopylai; and by this means he caused the destruction of the Greeks who were stationed there. . . . Xerxes, being exceedingly delighted, at once despatched Hydarnes and the 'Immortals,' who set out from the camp at about the hour of lamp-lighting. The Persians marched all night, and at daybreak reached the summit of the mountain. At this point a thousand heavy-armed Phokians kept guard, to defend their own country and secure the pathway; for they had voluntarily promised Leonidas to guard the path across the mountain. The Persians ascended unobserved through a dense forest of oaks; it was perfectly calm, and it was probably a rustling of the leaves trodden under foot that alarmed the Phokians, who sprang up and seized their arms just as the Barbarians appeared. When they saw armed men, the Persians were astonished, for, expecting to find nothing to oppose them, they fell in with an army. Thereupon Hydarnes, fearing lest these troops were Spartans, inquired of Ephialtes, and receiving information, drew up his troops for battle. The Phokians, hit by many and thick-falling arrows, fled higher up the mountain, upon which the Persians, taking no further notice of them, marched down with all speed.

"To the Greeks at Thermopylai the augur Megistias, inspecting the sacrifices, had already made known that death awaited them in the morn-

MAGIAN.¹

¹ The great goddess Nanaia (Anaitis), seated on a throne, surrounded with rays, and wearing on her head a tall kidaris; before her a Magian adoring, with lifted hand; between the priest and the goddess a pyre. In the field the symbolic crescent and seven stars. (Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 1,008.) Saphirine chalcedony. Height 25 millim.; breadth, 20 millim.

ing; also deserters began to arrive, bringing intelligence as to the circuit the Persians were making. These brought the news while it was yet



MAGIANS ADORING.¹

night; and thirdly the scouts, running down from the heights, brought the same news. Upon this the Greeks held a consultation, and their opinions were divided; for some would not hear of abandoning their post, and others were of contrary mind. After this, when the assembly broke up, some of them departed and betook themselves to their several cities, and others

prepared to remain there with Leonidas.

"It is said that Leonidas himself sent them away, being anxious that they should not perish, but that he and the Spartans who were there



CONTEST ROUND THE BODY OF A HERO.²

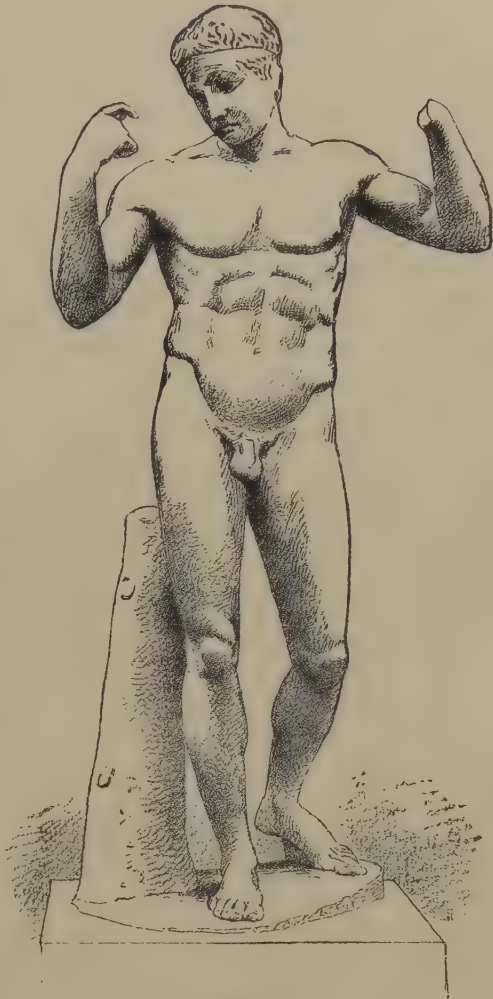
could not honorably desert the post which they originally came to defend. For my own part, I am inclined to think that Leonidas, when he perceived that the allies were averse, and unwilling to share the danger with him, bade them withdraw, but that he considered it dishonorable for himself to depart; on the other hand, by remaining there, great renown would be left for him, and the prosperity of Sparta would not be obliterated. For it had been announced by the Pythia at the beginning of the

¹ Two Magians or two Achaemenid kings, wearing the crenellated tiara, standing, with lifted hand, in worship before the winged symbol of Ormuzd. Before the head of Ormuzd a crescent; between the two figures a lighted pyre. (Cylinder of chalcone, from the Collection de Luynes.)

² Vase-painting of archaic style (from S. Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, p. 193). The corpse of Achilles (ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ) is lying on the ground, and the Trojan Blykos (ΒΛΥΚΟΣ sic) attempts to drag it off; but Aias (ΑΙΑΣ), protected by Athene, who is present at the contest, defends the dead body of his friend. Paris (ΠΑΡΙΣ) escapes at the right, sending an arrow from his bow.

war that either Sparta would be overthrown by the Barbarians, or their king would perish. I think, therefore, that Leonidas, considering these things, and being desirous to acquire glory for the Spartans alone, sent away the allies, rather than that those who went away differed in opinion and departed in such an unbecoming manner. . . . The Thespians only and the Thebans remained,—the Thebans, indeed, unwillingly, for Leonidas detained them, treating them as hostages; but the Thespians willingly, refusing to go and abandon Leonidas and those with him, but remained and died with them.

“Xerxes, having poured libations at sunrise, waited a short time, and then, as he had agreed with Ephialtes, advanced; and the Greeks with Leonidas, marching out as if for certain death, went forward much farther than before into the wide part of the defile, beyond the protection of the wall. Great numbers of the Barbarians fell; for the officers of the companies from behind, having scourges, flogged their men, constantly urging them forward; in consequence, many of them, falling into the sea, perished, and many more were trampled alive under foot by one another, and no regard was paid to any that perished. For the Greeks, knowing that death awaited them at the hands of those who were coming down from the mountain, being desperate and regardless of their own lives, displayed the utmost possible valor against the Barbarians.

ATHLETE.¹

¹ Marble statue discovered in 1862 at Vaison (Vaucluse), and now in the British Museum; from a cast. (Cf. O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique*.) The statue represents a Diadomenos, that is to say, an athlete, fastening a fillet round his head in token of victory. It is the replica of a celebrated work by the sculptor Polykletes; also reproduced in a very beautiful bronze of the Collection Janzé, in the *Cabinet de France*. Cf. the bas-relief on the funeral cippus of Tiberius Octavius Diadumenus in the Vatican (Pistoletti, *Il Vaticano*, vol. iv. pl. 84).

"Already most of their javelins were broken, and they had begun to despatch the Persians with their swords. At this time of the struggle fell Leonidas, fighting valiantly, and with him other eminent Spartans whose names I have ascertained; indeed, I have ascertained the names of the whole three hundred. On the side of the Persians also many eminent men fell. Two brothers of Xerxes perished at this spot, fighting for the body of Leonidas, until at last the Greeks rescued it, and four times drove back the enemy.



REMAINS OF THE TOMB OF LEONIDAS AT SPARTA.¹

"Thus the contest continued until those that were with Ephialtes came up. Upon news of their approach the Greeks retreated to the narrow part of the way, and passing beyond the wall, came and took up their position on the rising ground, all in a compact body, with the exception of the Thebans: the rising ground is at the entrance where the stone lion now stands to the memory of Leonidas. On this spot, while they defended themselves with swords,—such as had them still remaining,—and with their hands and their teeth, the Barbarians overwhelmed them with missiles, some attacking them in front, and others surrounding and attacking them on every side."

The Greeks delighted to repeat, and especially to embellish, many incidents of this great drama, consecrated by the popular

¹ From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxiv. 323. These are the foundations of some unknown building. It is certain that the tomb of Leonidas was exactly opposite the theatre, and at some distance from it (Pausanias, iii. 14, 1). The hills in the background are those of ancient Sparta; there the Dorian conquerors established and fortified themselves.

imagination. Before the first engagement Xerxes had sent a Persian horseman to reconnoitre the Greek position. He observed the Spartans performing gymnastic exercises, and others combing their hair. He was permitted to inform himself accurately of everything, and ride back at his leisure, being pursued by no one, and treated with general contempt. Xerxes, amazed at this composure, could not believe that these idle and indifferent Greeks were preparing to slay and be slain to the utmost of their power. He attempted to corrupt Leonidas, sending word to him that if he would submit he should receive empire of all Greece. But the Spartan replied: "I had rather die for my country than enslave her." A second message bore the words: "Give up your arms." And Leonidas wrote under it; "Come and take them." When the enemy appeared, and a Greek ran up, crying out: "The Persians are near us!" the Spartan king replied calmly: "Say rather that we are near the Persians." Before the final engagement he would have his soldiers take some food. "To-night," he said to them, "we shall sup with Hades."

The soldiers were worthy of their chief. A Trachinian said to one of them in great alarm: "The Persian army is so numerous that their arrows would darken the sun." "That is good," the reply was; "we can fight better in the shade." A Spartan, detained in the neighboring village by a disease of the eyes, on hearing that the Persians were advancing, seized his weapons, had himself led by his slave to where the battle was raging; then, allowing the Helot to make his escape, himself rushed into the thickest of the fight and perished there. Two youths, whom Leonidas desired to save by sending them home bearing a message to Sparta, refused to obey. "We are not here to carry messages," they said, "but to fight."

Twenty thousand Persians had perished, among them two sons of Darius. On the side of the Greeks not a single Spartan nor Thespian was alive; a few Thebans had begged for quarter. Xerxes crucified the dead body of Leonidas, but Greece piously gathered up his bones. On the tomb to his memory, reared later by Sparta, was engraved this heroic inscription, composed by Simonides of Keos: "Passer-by. go say at Sparta that we died here to obey her laws." And the poet says further: "How glo-

and laid their companions dead by the roadside in multitudes. Apollo had avenged himself, — a tradition spread abroad doubtless to save the honor of the divinity, whose temple was perhaps saved from pillage by the abandonment of a portion of its wealth.

Athene seemed at first least concerned about her own city; and yet her authority was not thereby impaired, for it could be said, at least after the invasion, that if she had not at Athens defended the dwellings and temples, she had at Salamis saved the State. That day, in truth, Greece owed her safety to sagacity quite as much as to courage.

After the Persians had forced the passage of Thermopylai, the Athenians had hoped that the allied forces would come to the defence of Attika; when they learned that the Peloponnesians, refusing to leave their peninsula, had no intention of doing anything more than defend the approach to it by a wall built across the isthmus and by rolling down masses of rock into the Skeironian pass, they asked that at least the fleet should take



COIN OF SALAMIS.¹

its position in the narrow canal which separates Salamis from the mainland. The Greek vessels, returning from the Euripos, cast anchor under this island, while the Athenian ships were moored on the coast of Attika to assist in the evacuation of the country. The Areiopagos had proclaimed publicly that every citizen should take what means he could to save his wife, his children and slaves. An omen had removed the last scruples: the sacred serpent which was kept in the temple of Athene had disappeared, — a sign that the goddess herself abandoned her sanctuary. All non-combatants were sent away to Troizen, to Aigina, or to Salamis; and every man who could carry a spear or pull an oar went to the fleet.

It had scarcely been thus reinforced when a fugitive, arriving from Athens, announced to the council of the chiefs that the Persians had burned Thespiæ and Plataia, penetrated into Attika, and taken the city, where a few citizens — who had taken refuge in the citadel behind palisades, believing them to be the wooden

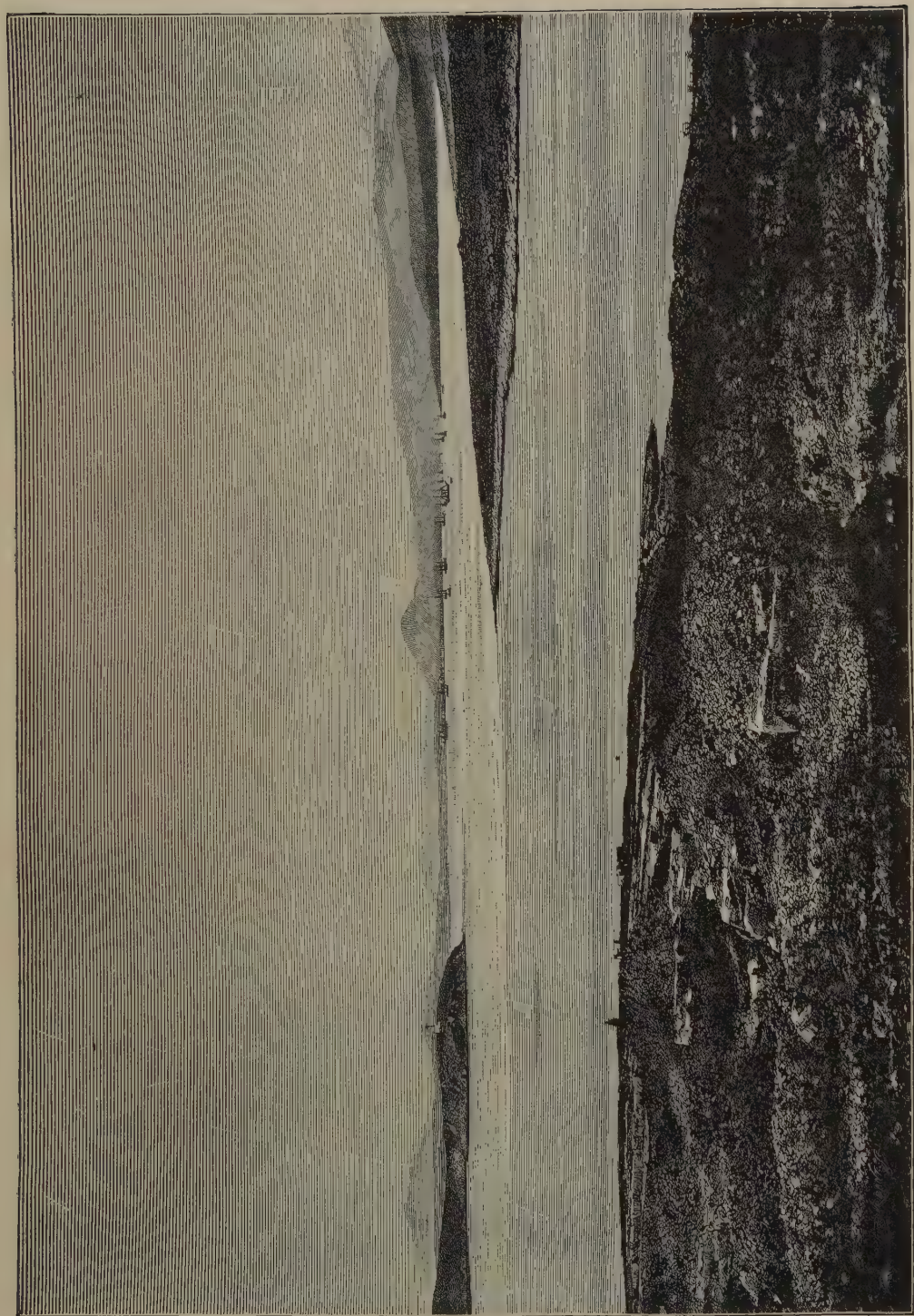
¹ Diademed head of a woman (Salamis), right profile. Reverse: ΣΑΑΑ. Shield of shape resembling that of the Boiotians; on it, a sheathed sword. (Bronze.)

walls which the oracle had recommended — had been surprised and slain. The temple of Erechtheus was nothing but a heap of cinders. This news so disturbed the council that many of the chiefs, without waiting for a decision, ordered sail to be made, and prepared to go away. Those who remained to continue the deliberation decreed that the fleet should cross over to the isthmus before engaging with the Persians. Meantime night had come, and every man went on board his own vessel.

On returning to his ship Themistokles was asked by his old friend Mnesiphilos what the council had decided; and when he made known the case, the old Athenian was much displeased. "If the ships sail from Salamis," he said, "they will no longer fight for any country; every man will return to his own city, and neither Eurybiades nor any one else will be able to detain them; and Greece will perish through this error of judgment. Return, therefore, and try if in any way it is possible to reconsider this decision, and induce Eurybiades to remain here."

Themistokles at once acted on this advice, and induced Eurybiades to call the chiefs together again. He then explained his views, repeating what Mnesiphilos had said, and adding much more of his own, without, however, speaking of the possible danger of a general dispersal, which would have given offence to the other chiefs. He represented to the council that to fight near the isthmus in the open sea would be disadvantageous to them, having heavier vessels and fewer in number than the Persians; also that Salamis and Megara and Aigina would thus be abandoned to the enemy; and lastly that the enemy would be thus led by them to the Peloponnesos, and all Greece exposed to danger. Then showed itself in clear light the blind and stupid jealousy of the Peloponnesians. Themistokles, speaking much and earnestly, and before it was his turn, had been already interrupted by the Corinthian general: "O Themistokles." Adeimantos had said, "in the games those who start before the time are beaten with stripes." And Themistokles, excusing himself, had replied

NOTE. — The Roads of Salamis are represented on the opposite page as seen from Akte, a rocky peninsula behind which is sheltered the harbor of the Peiræus. On the right opens the narrow passage into the harbor, and on one of the adjacent hills was placed the throne of Xerxes. At the left is the small island of Psyttalia, on which is a lighthouse, and behind it Salamis and the hills of Megaris. The distant mountain on the right is Kithairon.



THE ROADS OF SALAMIS.

From a photograph.

mildly: "But they who are left behind are not crowned." And now again Adeimantos attacked him, bidding the man who had no country be silent; throwing this out against him because Athens had been taken, and was in possession of the enemy. Then at length Themistokles made a haughty and vehement reply, showing that the Athenians still had a city and a territory much greater than Corinth possessed, so long as they had



two hundred ships fully manned. Then again addressing Eurybides, he closed thus: "If you remain here, you will show yourself a brave man; if you do not remain, you will destroy Greece, for the whole success of the war depends on our fleet. Therefore yield to my advice, or else we will take our families with us and remove into Italy, where there is an ancient possession of ours at Siris, which oracles say is fated to be our home; and you, when you have lost allies like us, will remember my words." This

threat produced the desired result. It was decided to remain at Salamis.

On the following day further reinforcements arrived, increasing the Greek fleet to 378 vessels, not to speak of the fifty-oared galleys; the Persian fleet was composed of more than a thousand(?) ships, lying in the roads of Phaleron. Meanwhile the invading army was advancing upon the Peloponnesos. This advance revived the fears of those who had wished to fall back upon the isthmus. Discontent broke out openly, the council was again called together, and the majority were determined to retreat. Themistokles now took a desperate resolution. He went secretly out of the council and despatched a trusty messenger to the Persians, with instructions to say to them that Themistokles, the Athenian general, was secretly devoted to Xerxes, and had sent to inform them that the Greeks were in great consternation and deliberating on flight, and that by a prompt attack they might at once be destroyed.

Xerxes believes the information worthy of credit, and makes his preparations to surround the Greeks. Meantime Themistokles returns into the council, purposely prolonging the discussion, when he is suddenly called out by a man,—the banished Aristides,—who returns, making his way across from Aigina through the Persian fleet. “Let us be rivals,” Aristides says, “which shall do the greater service to our country. I assure you that to say little or much to the Peloponnesians about sailing hence is the same thing; for I, an eye-witness, tell you now that even if they would, neither the Corinthians, nor Eurybiades himself, will be able to sail away; for we are on all sides enclosed by the enemy. Go in, therefore, and acquaint them with this.” “You both give useful advice,” replies Themistokles, “and have brought good news; what has been done by the Medes proceeds from me. For it was necessary, as the Greeks would not willingly fight, that they should be compelled to do so.” Upon which he introduces Aristides into the council to bring the news. The battle was therefore inevitable in the place which Themistokles, with the audacity of genius, had forced upon his fellow-citizens.¹

The day of the sea-fight of Salamis, the 19th of Boedromion

¹ See map on the preceding page.

(September 20th), was one of the great religious festivals of Attika. On that day a consecrated *theoria* bore solemnly to Eleusis Iakchos, the god of the Mysteries, and the sacred images of the Aiakidai, descendants of Zeus, were brought home from Aigina in a vessel. The Great Goddesses would surely punish sacrilegious

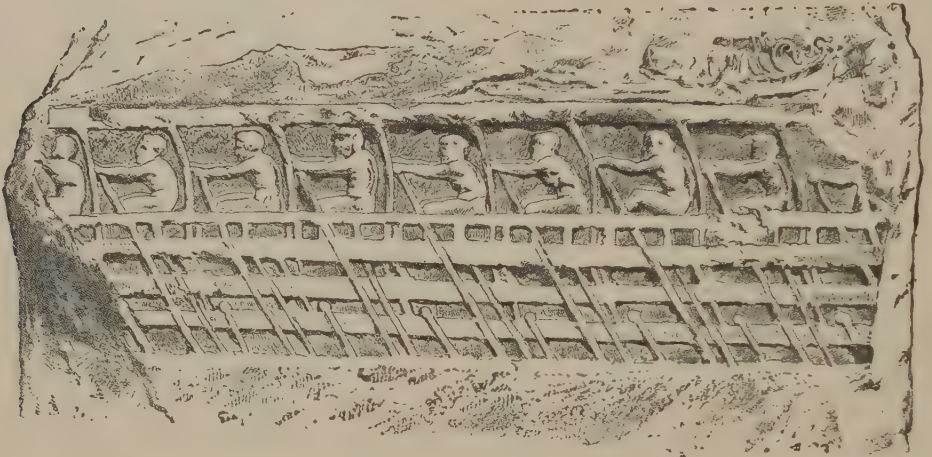


BIRTH OF IACHKOS.¹

acts which prevented the performance of the customary rites. At daybreak there was an earthquake both on land and at sea, and the Greeks determined to pray to the gods and invoke the Aiakidai as allies. This forthwith they did, invoking from Salamis Aias and Telamon; and they sent a vessel to Aigina to bring across Aiakos and the Aiakidai. Herodotos tells the story as reported by an eye-witness.

¹ Painting on a vase from Pantikapaia (from the *Compte rendu de la Commission archéol. de Saint-Petersbourg*, 1859, pl. i.). Hermes and Athene, standing in the centre of the scene, receive from the hands of Kora the young Iakchos. Hermes wears the petasos; Athene is fully armed; a Victory flies over her. Kora, standing in a grotto (see Stephani, *Compte rendu*, 1859, text, p. 49), is not yet fully in sight. The young mother wears a wreath of ivy and looks up at Hermes, who is about to carry the infant to his father Zeus; the latter is seated on a throne, and Demeter stands at his side. The goddess has on her head the kalathos. In the foreground, a nymph beats the tympanon. At the left Hekate, who has preceded Kora, is seated outside the grotto, having a torch in each hand. A nymph, perhaps Eleusis, leans against her.

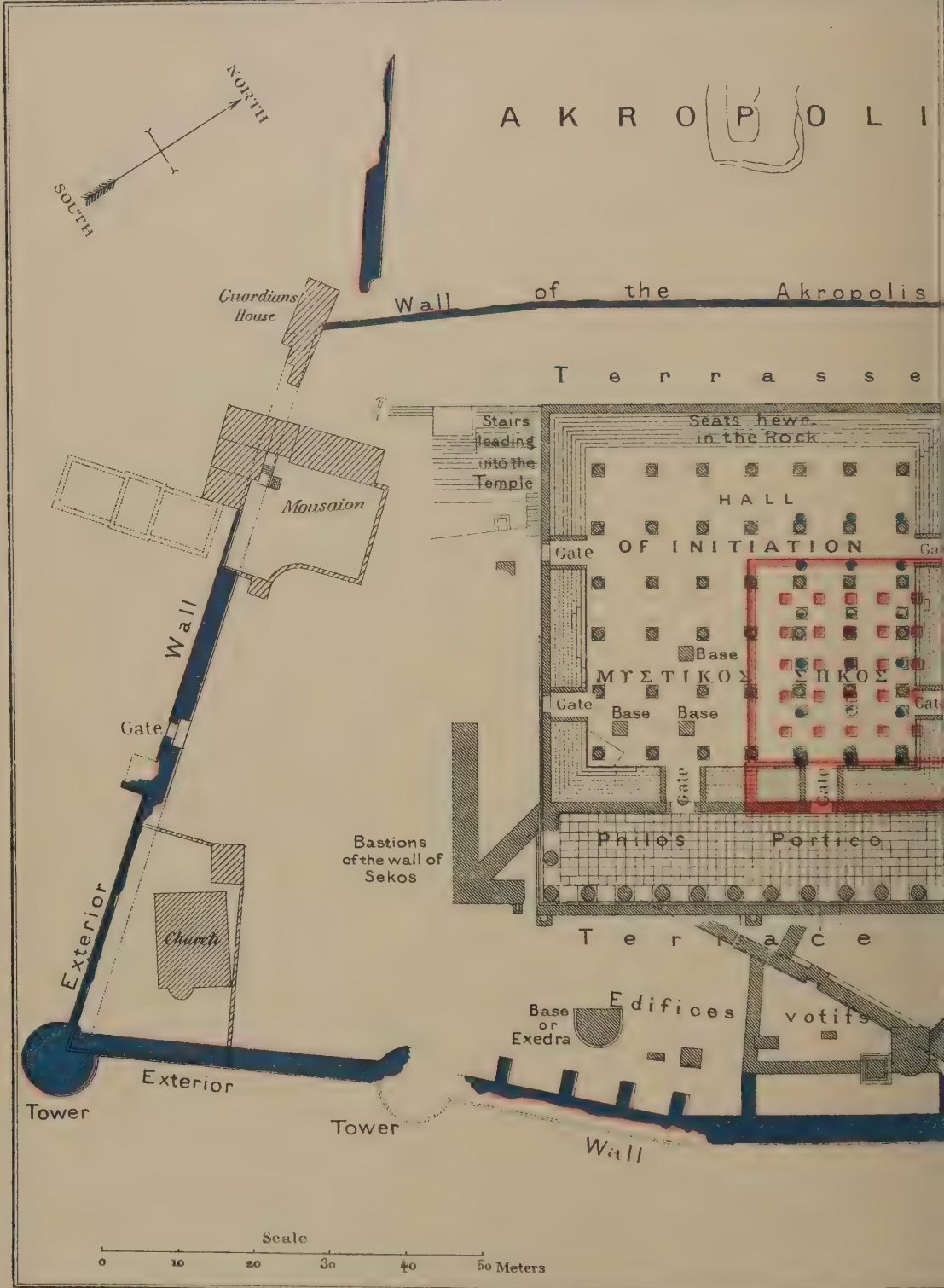
“Dikaïos, an Athenian and an exile at that time esteemed by the Medes, related that when the Attic territory was suffering devastation from the army of Xerxes, having been deserted by the Athenians, he happened then to be with Demaratos in the Thriasian plain, and he saw a cloud of dust coming from Eleusis, as if raised by the march of thirty thousand men. They wondered at this cloud of dust, questioning whence it might proceed, when suddenly a voice was heard, which seemed to him to be that of the mystic Iakchos. Demaratos was unacquainted with the



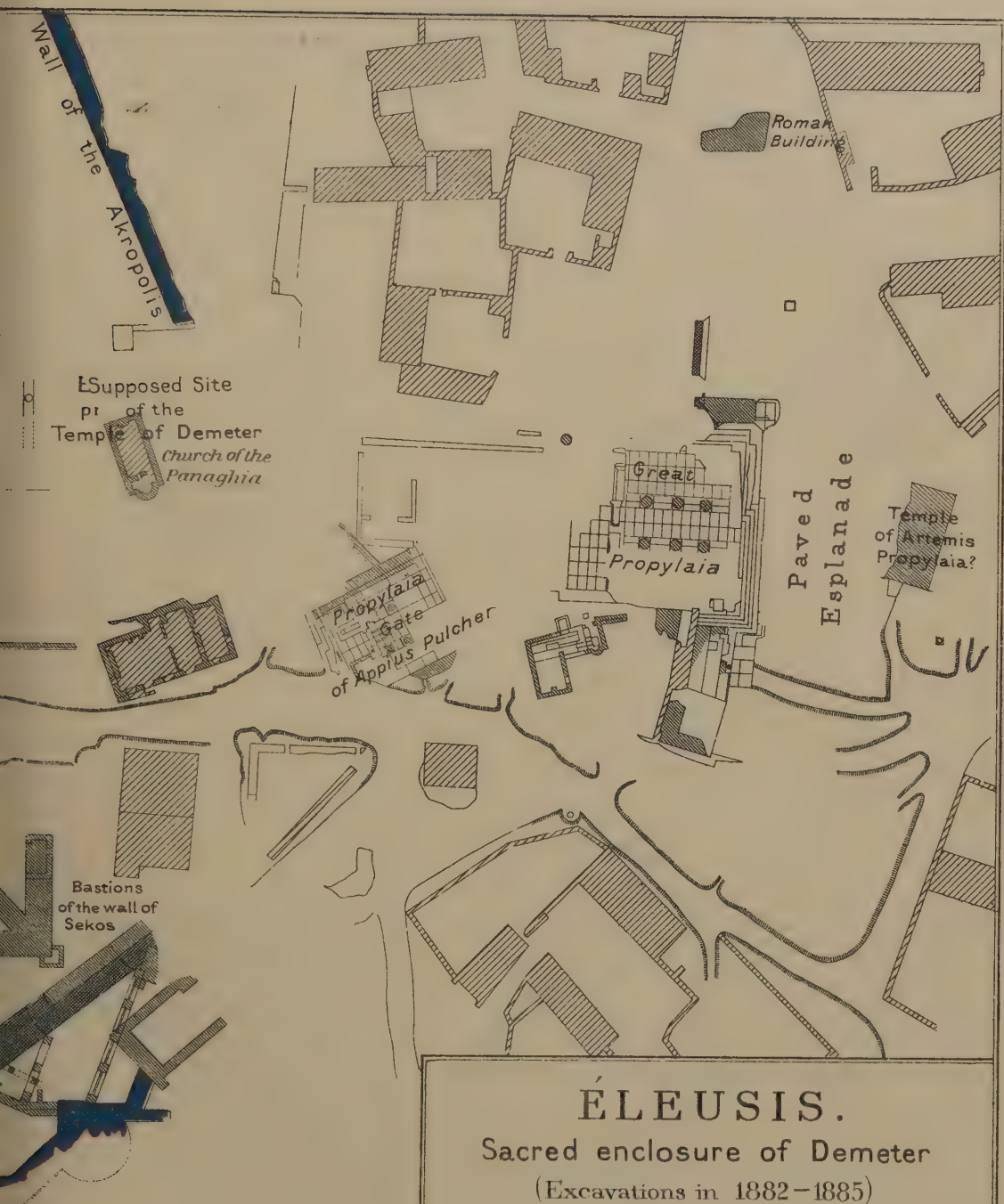
ATHENIAN TRIREME.¹

Mysteries of Eleusis, and asked Dikaïos what it might be that was uttered; and he replied: ‘O Demaratos, it cannot be but that some great damage must befall the king’s army. For this is clear, since Attika is deserted, that what is uttered is supernatural, proceeding from Eleusis to the assistance of Athens and the allies. And if it should rush towards the Peloponnesos, there will be danger to the king himself and his army on the mainland; but if it should turn towards the ships at Salamis, the king will be in danger of losing his naval armament. The Athenians celebrate this feast every year to the Mother and the Damsel (Demeter and Persephone), and whoever of them or other Greeks wishes is initiated; and the sound which you hear, they shout in this very festival.’ To this Demaratos said: ‘Be silent, and tell this story to no one else;

¹ Fragment of a bas-relief discovered on the Athenian Akropolis (from a photograph). It appears that in the trireme the three banks of rowers are one above another. On the arrangement of the rowers in the ancient triremes, see A. Cartault, *La trière athénienne*, chap. v. pp. 120 *et seq.*, and the very interesting paper of R. Lemaître in the *Revue archéol.* (1883) vol. i. pp. 89 and 133, with three illustrations. A sketch by Cavalier dal Pozzo (Cartault, pl. iv.) reproduces the prow of a vessel, and Cartault (p. 131, note) supposes that this prow and the trireme of the Akropolis were originally one whole, broken apart at some period unknown to us.



From Blavette and Dörpfeld



ÉLEUSIS.

Sacred enclosure of Demeter

(Excavations in 1882-1885)

EXPLANATION

Polygonal
 Hellenic and Roman
 Modern

Buildings

First hall of initiation
 Second " " "
 Walls of the Akropolis and of the sacred enclosure.

for if these words should be repeated to the king, you would lose your head, and neither I nor any other human being be able to save you. Keep quiet, therefore, and the gods will take care of the army.' Then from the dust and voice there arose a cloud; and being borne aloft, it was carried towards Salamis to the ships of the Greeks. Thus Dikaïos and Demaratos understood that the fleet of Xerxes was about to perish."¹

To believe in the protection of the gods is to obtain it, because the heart is thereby strengthened. But this was not enough for the soothsayer Euphrantides,—he demanded the sacrifice of three prisoners; and the superstitious multitude believed, with him, that the life-blood of Greece could be saved if that of certain captives were shed. And now we will hear a soldier of Salamis causing to be described by a messenger to Queen Atossa the victory of the Greeks.

COIN OF A SATRAP.²

“And when day, bright to look on, with white steeds,
O’erspread the earth, then rose from the Hellenes
Loud chant of cry of battle, and forthwith
Echo gave answer from each island rock;
And terror then on all the Persians fell
Of fond hopes disappointed. Not in flight
The Hellenes then their solemn pæans sang:
But with brave spirit hasting on to battle,
With martial sound the trumpet fired those ranks:
And straight with sweep of oars that flew through foam,
They smote the loud waves at the boatswain’s call;
And swiftly all were manifest to sight.
Then first their right wing moved in order meet;
Next the whole line its forward course began;
And all at once we heard a mighty shout:
‘O sons of Hellenes, forward, free your country;
Free, too, your wives, your children, and the shrines
Built to your fathers’ gods, and holy tombs
Your ancestors now rest in! Now the fight
Is for our all.’ And on our side indeed
Arose in answer din of Persian speech,
And time to wait was over; ship on ship

¹ Herodotos, viii. 65.

² Persian archer, kneeling, his quiver hanging at his side and his bow held in both hands; behind, a symbol of uncertain meaning. Reverse: ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. Bunch of grapes; at the side, another symbol of uncertain meaning. The whole in an incused square. (Silver.)

Dashed its bronze-pointed beak, and first a barque
 Of Hellas did the encounter fierce begin,
 And from Phœnikian vessel crashes off
 Her carved prow. And each against his neighbor
 Steers his own ship: and first the mighty flood
 Of Persian host held out. But when the ships
 Were crowded in the straits, nor could they give
 Help to each other, they with mutual shocks,
 With beaks of bronze went crushing each the other,
 Shivering their rowers' benches. And the ships
 Of Hellas, with manœuvring not unskilful,
 Charged, circling round them. And the hulls of ships
 Floated capsized; nor could the sea be seen,
 Strewn as it was with wrecks and carcasses;
 And all the shores and rocks were full of corpses.
 And every ship was wildly rowed in flight,
 All that composed the Persian armament.
 And they, as men spear tunnies, or a haul
 Of other fishes, with the shafts of oars,
 Or spars of wrecks went smiting, cleaving down;
 And bitter groans and wailings overspread
 The wide sea-waves, till eye of swarthy night
 Bade it all cease: and for the mass of ills,
 Not, though my tale should run for ten full days,
 Could I in full recount them. Be assured
 That never yet so great a multitude
 Died in a single day as died in this.

"Artembares, the lord of myriad horse,
 On the hard, flinty coasts of the Sileni
 Is now being dashed; and valiant Dadakes,
 Captain of thousands, smitten with the spear,
 Leapt wildly from his ship: And Tenagon,
 Best of the true old Bactrians, haunts the soil
 Of Aias' isle; Lilaïos, Arsames,
 And with them too Argestes, there defeated,
 Hard by the island where the doves abound,
 Beat here and there upon the rocky shore.
 Matallos, Chrysa-born, the captain bold
 Of myriads, leader he of swarthy horse
 Some thrice ten thousand strong, has fallen low,
 His red beard, hanging all its shaggy length,
 Deep dyed with blood, and purpled all his skin.
 Arabian Magos, Bactrian Artames,
 They perished, settlers in a land full rough.
 Some Power above
 Destroyed our host, and pressed the balance down
 With most unequal fortune, and the gods
 Preserve the city of the goddess Pallas."

The messenger who brings to the queen these sad tidings has not yet completed his melancholy story:—

“Those Persians that were in the bloom of life,
 Bravest in heart and noblest in their blood,
 And by the king himself deemed worthiest trust,
 Basely and by most shameful death have died.
 There is an isle that lies off Salamis,¹
 Small, with bad anchorage for ships, where Pan,
 Pan the dance-loving, haunts the sea-washed coast.
 There Xerxes sends these men, that when their foes,
 Being wrecked, should to the islands safely swim,
 They might with ease destroy the Hellenic host,
 And save their friends from out the deep sea's paths.
 But ill the future guessing; for when God
 Gave the Hellenes the glory of the battle,
 In that same hour, with arms well wrought in bronze,
 Shielding their bodies, from their ships they leapt,
 And the whole isle encircled, so that we
 Were sore distressed, and knew not where to turn;
 For here men's hands hurled many a stone at them;
 And there the arrows from the archer's bow
 Smote and destroyed them; and with one great rush,
 At last advancing, they upon them dash
 And smite, and hew the limbs of these poor wretches,
 Till they each foe had utterly destroyed.
 And Xerxes, when he saw how deep the ill,
 Groaned out aloud, for he had ta'en his seat,
 With clear, wide view of all the army round,
 On a high cliff hard by the open sea;
 And tearing then his robes with bitter cry,
 And giving orders to his troops on shore,
 He sends them off in foul retreat.”²

Some particulars of the engagement may be added to the story of Aischylos. A wind blew daily at a certain hour through the strait, and Themistokles waited for it before making the attack. In the tumultuous waves which it caused, the heavy Persian vessels came into collision with each other, and with great

¹ Psyttaleia, where Aristeides, who had no command on shipboard, landed with archers and heavy-armed troops.

² Aischylos, *The Persians* (Plumptre's translation, 441-472). Athens connected the names of her three great poets with her recollections of this famous day. Aischylos fought at Salamis, it was said; Sophokles was the leader of the chorus of young men who, lyre in hand, chanted the hymn of victory and danced around the trophies; Euripides, the son of a fugitive family of Athenians, was born in Salamis in the year of the battle.

difficulty avoided the rapid blows from the lighter Greek ships. To this principal cause of confusion were added the distrust of the Phœnicians in respect to the Ionians, the difficulty for vessels of so many nations to comprehend and obey the same orders, and lastly, the character of the place, which was very unfavorable for the Persians. In this narrow strait they could not bring their vessels into action, and in every manœuvre were in each other's way.



ACHAEMENID
KING.¹

The Phœnicians, opposed to the Athenians, began the attack. Their commander, Ariabignes, a son of Darius, leaping upon the deck of an Athenian galley which was attacking his own vessel, fell mortally wounded, and by his death threw into confusion the right wing, which he commanded.²

A woman signalized herself in this battle, — Artemisia, queen of Karia. Her galley being closely pressed by an Athenian vessel,⁴ she turned upon a Persian vessel and sank it. The Athenian, supposing by this that she was a friend, sought another adversary. Xerxes saw the action of Artemisia; he thought that the vessel destroyed by her was an Athenian galley, and cried out that on that day men fought as women,



PHŒNICIAN GALLEY.³

¹ Achaemenid king with crenellated tiara, standing, and holding by the horns two winged goats. Underneath, the barque, which among the Egyptians was the symbol of supremacy. On this Achaemenid stone is noticeable the union of the Assyrian and the Egyptian styles. (Green jasper. Scaraboid cone of the *Cabinet de France*, *Catalogue*, No. 1,031. Height, 20 millim; breadth, 15 millim.)

² In many plans of the battle a Persian squadron is placed at the other extremity of the island, to close the strait on the side of Megara. The account given by Herodotos, when studied carefully, and many reasons which we have not space to enumerate, oppose this conclusion; it is the right wing of the Persians, extending from the coast of Eleusis to Salamis, which seeks to encircle the Greek fleet. The width of the strait from Salamis to Cape Amphiale is but twelve hundred feet. (See the map, p. 483).

³ Phœnician galley, ending in a lion's head, rowing to the left, and carrying three soldiers having shields and helmets. Underneath, a winged hippocampus and the murex. Reverse, legend in Phœnician characters: עִינְאֵל מֶלֶךְ גִּבְלָא, *Ainel, king of Gebal*. Lion devouring a bull. Stater or didrachm of Ainel, king of Gebal (Byblos), who seems to have been a contemporary of Xerxes or of Artaxerxes I.

⁴ This vessel was commanded by Amynias, who after the action received the prize of valor among the Athenians, and who, notwithstanding the silence of Herodotos, is said to be a second brother of Aischylos.

women as men. To honor her courage, in the retreat he intrusted to her his children, whom she carried with her to Ephesos.

Xerxes had lost two hundred vessels, the Greeks forty; thus leaving a superiority in numbers still with the Persian fleet.



GREEK TOWER AT ANDROS.¹

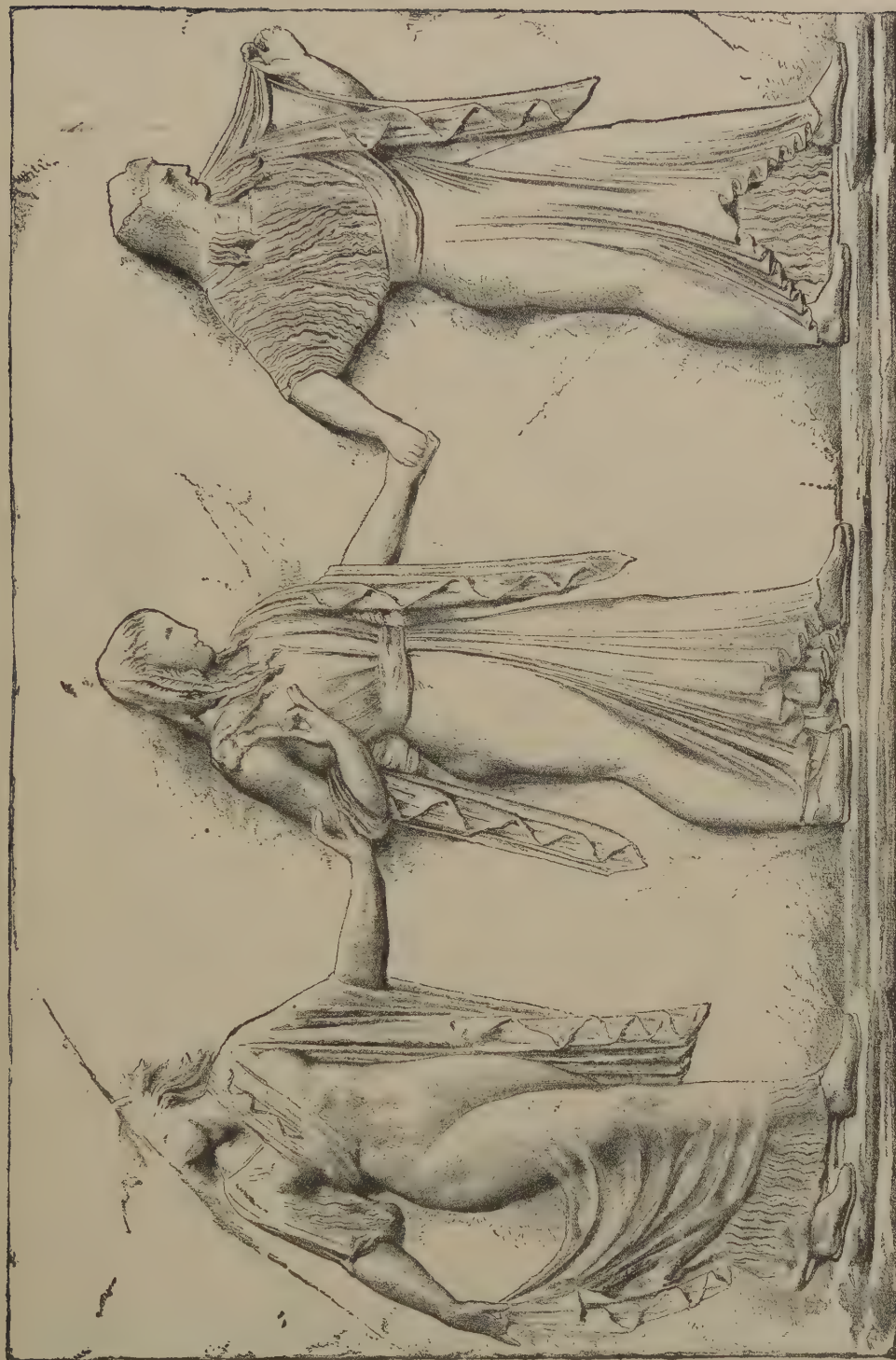
Xerxes for a moment made a pretence of courage and confidence: he ordered a causeway to be formed, uniting Salamis to the mainland, also a bridge of boats by connecting Phœnician merchantmen; and he made preparation for another naval engagement.

¹ From Fiedler, *Reise durch Griechenland*, vol. ii. Taf. 4, p. 236, fig. 1. This tower, built doubtless to protect the iron mines of Andros, is situated near the village of Haghos Petros, thirty minutes distant from the harbor. See L. Ross, *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres*, ii. 12.

But in reality he had lost all hope, and feared being cut off from Asia if he did not hasten his return. Mardonios, who had advised this fatal expedition, saw his ruin in its defeat. To escape it, he proposed to the king to remain himself in Greece, if three hundred thousand men were given him, to complete the conquest of the country; "for," he said, "if the Phoenicians, Egyptians, Cyprians, and Kilikians have shown themselves cowards, this disaster in no respect extends to the Persians." Xerxes, eager to escape, welcomed this proposal gladly, and on reaching Thessaly in his precipitate flight, he authorized Mardonios to select from the army the troops for whom he had asked. While the king was thus rapidly traversing Macedon and Thrace, his fleet, sailing from Phaleron in the middle of the night, made haste to reach the Hellespont. The Greeks, warned too late, pursued it, but in vain, as far as Andros. Here they held a council of war; Themistokles proposed to advance as rapidly as possible towards the Chersonesos, with the intention of closing against Xerxes and his army the passage into Asia. Eurybiades succeeded in carrying the opposite measure, feeling that Greece, instead of detaining the Barbarians and driving them to extremities, would do well to make their departure easy. Themistokles yielded; but he secretly despatched a messenger to Xerxes, either to assume for himself the merit of this decision, or perhaps still more to hasten the flight of the king. Xerxes, however, occupied forty-five days in traversing Macedon and Thrace, marking his road with the dead, slain by the arrows of the inhabitants, and by hunger, thirst, and disease. Storms had carried away the bridges, but his fleet awaited him and bore him to Abydos; while he thence took the road to Sardis, the fleet moved southward to Kyme and Samos to put a stop to threatening revolts in the Ionian cities.

The Greeks, on their side, levied contributions in the Cyclades, to punish the islanders for their treachery to the common cause.

NOTE.—On the opposite page is reproduced a bas-relief representing the nuptials of Herakles and Hebe. In this fragment (from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. iv., 1885, pl. 56, and Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Taf. 14–16) we see Hebe led by Aphrodite and gently urged forward by the goddess of Persuasion (Πειθώ). For the bas-relief as a whole, see Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, vol. i. p. 142, fig. 22. The goddess of Persuasion was represented on a bas-relief of archaic style which in ancient times decorated a fountain in Corinth. It was formerly in England in the collection of Lord Guilford.



APHRODITE, HEBE, AND THE GODDESS OF PERSUASION.

They besieged Andros, and Themistokles announced to the inhabitants that the Athenians had brought with them two powerful divinities, Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore they must give the required money. To this the islanders rejoined that the Athenians were with good reason great and prosperous, and were favored by propitious gods; since, however, they themselves were poor in territory, and had reached the lowest depths of destitution, and two unprofitable goddesses, Poverty and Incapacity, never forsook their island but ever loved to dwell with them, therefore they, being in the possession of these goddesses, would give no money, and even the power

THEMISTOKLES.¹

of the Athenians could not get the better of this Incapacity. Their resistance was so determined that Themistokles, after besieging them for a time, abandoned the attempt and sailed to other islands. Returning to Salamis, the Greeks shared the plunder; and from the portion set aside for Apollo a colossal statue was made, which was sent to Delphi. They then sailed to the isthmus, for the purpose of conferring the prize of valor upon him who had proved himself most deserving throughout the war. Each general gave his first vote for himself, but for the second place the majority concurred in selecting Themistokles. The matter, however, remained undetermined, the Greeks returning home without coming to a decision, "out of envy," says Herodotos. Shortly after this, visiting Sparta, Themistokles was received with the greatest honors; an olive-wreath was decreed to him, he received as a gift the finest chariot in Sparta, and on his return he was escorted to the frontiers by a band of three hundred young Spartans of the noblest families.

THEMISTOKLES.²

¹ Themistokles, standing in his galley, carrying in his right hand the wreath decreed him at Sparta, and in his left the trophy he is about to consecrate in the temple of Artemis at Salamis. Legend: ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens (Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, pp. 305-306).

² Themistokles, standing in his galley and returning triumphant from Salamis; he holds the wreath decreed him, and carries the trophy he is about to consecrate in the temple of Artemis. The owl and the serpent of the Erechtheion are on the prow. Legend: ΑΘΗ. Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens (Beulé, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-306).

IV. — PLATAIA AND MYKALE.

GREECE celebrated her victory while half her territory was still occupied by the enemy; but a well-founded hope filled all hearts. While Xerxes was in Thessaly, the Spartans received an oracle from Delphi admonishing them to require satisfaction of the Persian king for the death of Leonidas, and to accept whatever should be given by him. They immediately obeyed the order; the herald reached the army, and was brought into the presence of Xerxes. "King of the Medes," he said, "the

SILVER COIN.¹

Spartans and Herakleidai demand of you satisfaction for blood, because you have slain their king while he was defending Greece." The Persian for a time was silent; then pointed to Mardonios, who stood near, and said: "This man shall give them the satisfaction they deserve." The herald accepted the king's answer, and went away. It was in truth Mardonios who was destined to give the Greeks the satisfaction they called for.

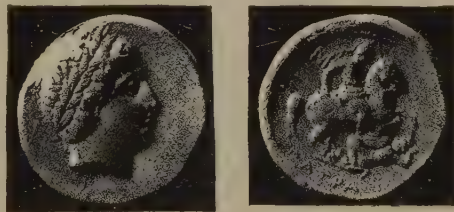
Relieved rather than enfeebled by the departure of the king and of the tumultuous crowd which accompanied him, Mardonios wintered in Thessaly; in the spring he sent to the Athenians Alexander of Macedon, to propose terms of peace. Admiring, he said, their valor, the Great King desired to have them for allies; he would restore to them their territory, would rebuild their temples, and would give them in addition whatever lands they might desire. The Spartans, in great alarm, also sent deputies to Athens, who made an urgent appeal. The Athenians replied briefly and with vigor. "Go tell Mardonios," they said, "that so long as the sun follows his accustomed course in the sky, we will never make terms with Xerxes; but we will go forth to oppose him, trusting in the gods who fight for us, and in the heroes whose temples and images the Persians have profanely burned." Herodotos gives us their noble answer to the Greek envoys: —

¹ Free horse, moving to the left. Reverse: ΠΕΛΑΙΝΑ. Warrior fighting on foot; he holds his shield on the left arm, and hurls his spear with the right. (Silver. Museum of Berlin, Friedländer and A. von Sallet, *Das königliche Münzkabinet*, No. 71.)

"That the Spartans should fear lest we might make terms with the Barbarian, was very natural; and yet, knowing, as you do, the mind of the Athenians, you seem to have entertained an unworthy fear; for there is neither so much gold anywhere in the world, nor a country so pre-eminent in beauty and fertility, that it would tempt us to side with the Mede and enslave Greece. For there are many and powerful considerations that would forbid us, even were we inclined to do this. First and chief, the images and dwellings of the gods, burned and laid in ruins: this we must needs avenge to the utmost of our power, rather than make terms with the man who has perpetrated such deeds. Secondly, the Greek race being of the same blood and the same language, and the temples of the gods and sacrifices in common, and our similar customs: for the Athenians to become betrayers of these would not be well. Know, therefore; if you did not know it before, that so long as one Athenian is left alive, we will never make terms with Xerxes. Your consideration, however, towards us we admire, in that you take thought for us whose property is thus ruined so far as to be willing to support our families; and you have fulfilled the duty of benevolence; we, however, will continue as we are, without being burdensome to you. Now, since matters stand as they do, send out an army with all haste; for the Persians will soon be here to invade our territory, when it is known that we will do none of the things they ask of us. Therefore, before Mardonios reaches Attika, it is well that we should go to meet him in Boiotia."

A decree required the priests to devote to the infernal gods whoever should enter into communication with the enemy. It is sad to be obliged to add that a faction in Athens, composed of some of the richer citizens, which had already begun the long series of its treasonable acts against liberty, considered this generous devotion madness. One man made a proposal that Athens should submit; others, even on the day of battle, meditated defection.

The conduct of the Spartans was most unworthy. Content with having broken off the negotiation between Athens and Mar-

TETRADRACHM.¹

¹ Coin of Patraios, king of Paionia (340-315 B.C.). Laurelled head of Patraios, right profile. Reverse: ΠΑΤΡΑΙΟΥ. Horseman transfixing with his lance a foot-soldier who lies on the ground under the horse's feet, and defends himself with his spear.

donios, they returned into their peninsula and occupied themselves in completing the wall which barred entrance to it.

"I can give no reason why," says Herodotos, "when Alexander the Macedonian went to Athens, they took such pains to prevent the Athenians from siding with the Mede, and then concerned themselves no farther in the case, except that, the isthmus being fortified, they thought they had no further need of the Athenians; whereas, when Alexander arrived in Attika, the wall was not yet built, and they were working at it, in great dread of the Persians."

Mardonios traversed Boiotia unopposed, and re-entered Athens. The Athenians had again taken shelter at Salamis; Mardonios renewed his proposals. Lykidas, one of the



PERSIAN SIKELOS.¹

opinion that it would be wise to deliberate on this subject and report it to the people, "either because he had received money from Mardonios," says Herodotos, "or because such was really his opinion." The indignant Athenians stoned him to death; and "the women, encouraging one another and uniting together, went of their own accord to the house of Lykidas and stoned his wife and children." The public indignation was almost equally great against Sparta. Deputies were sent to complain of her cowardly abandonment of Athens. The Spartans, at the time engaged in celebrating the festival of the Hyakinthia, took no notice of these reproaches. From day to day they postponed giving an answer, and the Athenian envoys were to leave Sparta on the following day, without having received any satisfaction, when a Tegean, Chileus by name, who had great influence with the Spartans, hearing of the situation of affairs, remonstrated with the ephoroi, and urged them to remember that if the Athenians should make an alliance with Persia, the wall across the isthmus would be far from sufficient to protect the Peloponnesos. Upon this, without communicating their intention to the Athenian envoys, the Spartans at once, by night, sent out five thousand heavy armed troops, each man having with him seven armed Helots. In the morning the Athenian envoys, about to depart, made their last appeal, and

¹ Bust of a Persian archer wearing a denticulated tiara, holding in one hand a bow, and in the other a bunch of arrows. Reverse, incused square. (Silver.)

were informed by the ephoroi that the Spartan contingent was already on the march.

Receiving intelligence of this movement from the Argives, who were in his interest, Mardonios quitted Attika, which he had completely devastated, and sought in the plains of Boiotia a battle-



GREEK WARRIORS ENGAGED WITH AMAZONS.¹

field more favorable for his cavalry. Here he established an intrenched camp on the left bank of the Asopos. The Spartan army, commanded by Pausanias, traversed the isthmus, collecting as it went those Peloponnesians who remained faithful to the common cause. At Eleusis they met the Athenians, who had crossed over from Salamis, and the united army marched towards

¹ Painting on a vase in the Collection Sabouroff, in the Museum of Berlin (from A. Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, 13th livraison). Two Amazons, one mounted on a white horse, are fighting with two Greeks, of whom one is entirely nude. Above, at the left, a warrior is blowing a trumpet. The artist has introduced this figure and that of the Amazon on foot only to fill vacant spaces, and he has taken no pains either to complete them or to represent the rest of the figures as hidden in any way.

the Asopos, one hundred and ten thousand strong,¹—a spectacle which Greece would never see again. It encamped upon the hills of Erythrai, facing an enemy of three hundred thousand men, with perhaps fifty thousand Greek auxiliaries. Several days passed in skirmishes. Mardenios, to dislodge the Greeks from the strong position which they held, made an attack with his cavalry, under the command of Masistios, famous among the Persians for his bravery. The shock fell upon the Megarians, and after a gallant resistance they sent to Pausanias to say that unless they received

SILVER COIN.²

speedy support they should be obliged to retreat. Pausanias called for volunteers to relieve the Megarians, but the danger was so formidable that all hesitated. At last the Athenians undertook the perilous task, and three hundred picked men under

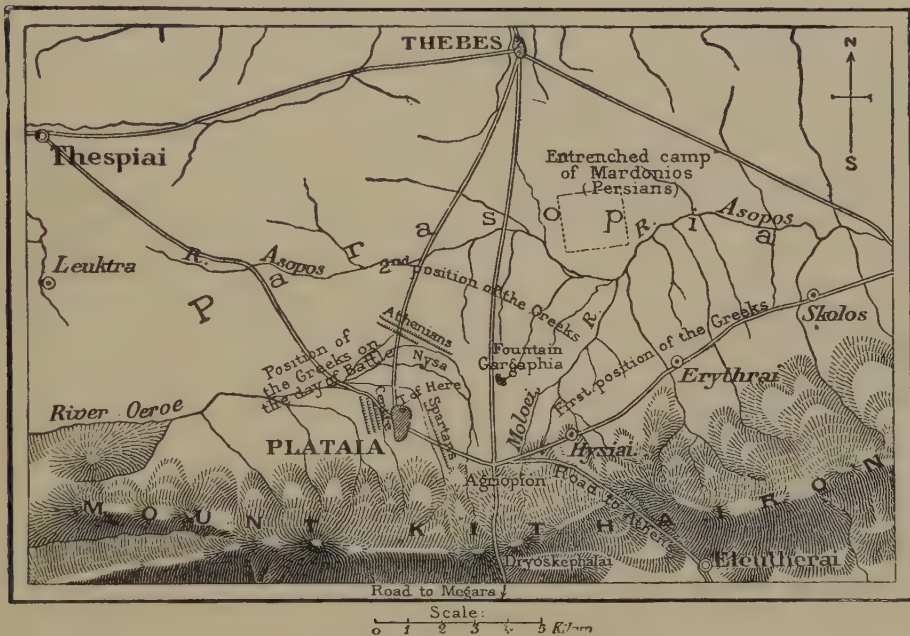
Olympiodoros took up their position in the front. The Persians charged again, and the horse of Masistios, who rode in advance, being wounded by an arrow, reared and threw his rider. As he fell the Athenians attacked him; they were unable to pierce the golden cuirass that he wore under his purple cloak, but a soldier gave him a fatal wound in the eye. A sharp struggle took place for the body of the slain leader; but the whole Greek army coming up, the Persian cavalry fell back, with heavy loss. Then, while the Persian army gave themselves up to lamentations so wild and piercing that Herodotos says the sound reached over all

¹ The Greek forces were, according to Herodotos (ix. 28), 38,700 heavy-armed infantry. — 10,000 Lacedæmonians, 8,000 Athenians, 5,000 Corinthians, 800 from Leukadia and Anaktorion, 500 from Ambrakia, 300 from Potidaia, 3,000 from Megara, 3,000 from Sikyon, 1,500 from Tegea, 600 from Orchomenos, 800 from Epidauros, 1,000 from Troizen, 400 from Mykenai and Tiryns, 200 from Lepreon, 1,000 from Phlious, 300 from Hermione, 600 from Eretria and Styra, 400 from Chalkis, 200 from Kephallenia, 500 from Aigina, and 600 Plataians. There were 69,500 light troops, of whom 35,000 were Helots, seven to each Spartan. For each heavy-armed soldier of the other Greek cities there was one light-armed. There were a few soldiers from Melos, Keos, Tenos, Naxos, and Kythnos; also 1,800 from Thespiæ. The troops from Elis and Mantinea did not arrive till after the battle had been fought. The Mantineians pursued the Persians of Artabazos as far as Thessaly, and on their return home exiled the generals whose delays had deprived them of the honor of fighting.

² Mounted soldier, armed with two lances. Reverse, in an incused square, goat's head; behind it, a caduceus. (British Museum. This coin has been attributed to Alexander I.)

Boiotia, and cut off their own hair and that of their horses and beasts of burden, in token of grief, the victorious Greeks, placing the body on a chariot, carried it along their lines, and the soldiers broke rank and rushed forward to look upon the stately and beautiful form of the dead general.

Meanwhile in the position the Greeks occupied they were in danger of suffering from want of water, therefore Pausanias moved down into the plain of Plataia, where there were many streamlets,



BATTLE-FIELD OF PLATAIA.

and the army encamped near the fountain of Gargaphia, some on slight elevations, others on the level ground. Here a violent dispute arose as to the different positions, the Athenians and Tegeans each claiming the left wing. On each side were urged the exploits of ancestors,—the Tegeans brought forward the triumph of the hero Echemos, whose victory over Hyllas expelled the Herakleidai from the Peloponnesos; the Athenians made mention of various exploits, from the battle of Marathon back to the Trojan war, and ended by leaving the decision to the Spartans, who unanimously declared in favor of Athens.

The Persians had also shifted ground, and the two armies were

now separated only by the river Asopos. There was great hesitation on the part of both about crossing, for the diviners in both

armies announced evil to each if it began the battle. This delay was extremely advantageous to the Greeks, for they were constantly receiving reinforcements and supplies, while every day increased the difficulties of Mardonios in respect to provisions for his immense army. But he hoped to employ the time profitably in buying over some of the allied leaders and breaking up the league. After ten days, however, he would wait no longer, and notwithstanding the advice and warnings of those about him, he announced that he should attack the Greeks early on the following day. At the same time he endeavored to reassure his subordinates.



TEGEAN WARRIOR ¹

generals of the Greeks who were in his service, he asked if they knew any oracle respecting the Persians which predicted that they should be destroyed. But when those who were convoked remained silent, some not knowing the oracles, and others knowing, indeed, but not deeming it safe to men-

“ Having summoned the commanders of battalions and the

¹ Marble stela, discovered on the site of Dekeleia (from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. iv., 1880, pl. 7. E. Pottier). The inscription gives us the name and country of the soldier represented, Lisas of Tegea. The bas-relief shows that he was an archer. Possibly the bow was never represented, or even indicated, on the relief, but the attitude of the soldier, his body bending forward, the attentive expression of the face, the right arm entirely free from the tunic, and the extended index-finger, — all prove that the artist represents the moment when Lisas has just shot his arrow, and is following it with his eyes. The buckler does not interfere with his use of the bow, for it is held on the left arm and leaves the hand free.

tion them, Mardonios himself said: 'Since you either know nothing, or else dare not speak, I will tell you, as I know perfectly well. There is an oracle, importing that the Persians arriving in Greece should sack the temple at Delphi, and after this should all perish. We, therefore, being apprised of this, neither march against that temple nor intend to sack it; and thus we shall not perish on that account. Let such of you then as are well affected to the Persians rejoice on this account, that we shall vanquish the Greeks.'"

During the night a horseman rode up to the camp of the Athenians and desired to confer with the generals. "Be on the watch," he said to them; "Mardonios, notwithstanding the unfavorable omens, will attack you at daybreak. Keep my words secret from all men except Pausanias, lest you ruin me. I should not utter them if I were not extremely concerned for the safety of Greece; for I am myself a Greek, and would by no means wish to see Greece enslaved. And if this war should terminate according to your wishes, it is right that you bear in mind to restore my freedom, who have undertaken, for the sake of the Greeks, this dangerous task. I am Alexander the Macedonian." Having said these words, he rode away.

Upon receipt of this information Pausanias made a change in the order in which the Greeks were posted, bringing the Athenians opposite the Persians,—as having already fought with them at Marathon and being familiar with their manner of fighting,—and opposing the Spartans to the Boiotians and Thessalians. The change was very gratifying to the Athenians; but in the morning, when some of the Greeks in the Persian army observed it, they gave intelligence to Mardonios, who thereupon made a corresponding change in the disposition of his forces, so that the Spartans again were opposite to the Persians. Mardonios took these movements in the Greek army as an evidence of fear, and sent to Pausanias an insolent challenge to end the affair by an engagement between a selected number of Spartans and the same of Persians. The king made no reply. Two circumstances compelled the allies again to change their order of battle,—the horses of the Persian cavalry had completely fouled the fountain of Gargaphia, whence the Greeks obtained all the water they drank, for the river was entirely useless to them, being within range of the bowmen; also, supplies

of provisions were held back in the defiles of Kithairon by Theban scouts perpetually on the watch. It was therefore determined to move by night into a position nearer Plataia and the mountains through which there was communication with the Peloponnesos. At the time appointed, the larger part of the troops



set out, but instead of stopping at the designated positions, they kept on as far as a temple of Here outside the gates of Plataia. The Spartans and Athenians did not leave their camp till nearly morning, Pausanias delaying in the attempt to persuade a brave but obstinate captain who, not comprehending the object of this movement, deemed it a retreat, and declared that he would

¹ Bronze statuettes in the *Cabinet de France* (Catalogue, No. 2,922), in the Museum of Naples and in the British Museum (from the original; from Overbeck, *Griechische Kunst-mythologie*, vol. ii. pl. 2, No. 1; and from a photograph). Zeus, laurelled, holds with the right hand the thunderbolt, and with the left leans upon his sceptre; the feet are shod with sandals, the eyes incrustated with silver. This statuette was discovered with seventeen others in a coffer of oak-wood in France, at Châlon-sur-Saône. Poseidon, a nude figure, leans upon his trident; the staff (*κοῦρτός*) is a modern restoration. The Apollo of the British Museum, also a nude figure, was discovered at Paramythia in Epeiros.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented (from a photograph) a colossal marble bust of Here, now in the Villa Ludovisi in Rome. This is one of the most justly celebrated representations of the ox-eyed (*βοῶπις*) goddess, wife of Zeus and queen of Olympus. The work is more than a century later in date than the statue which the Argive Polykleitos executed for the temple of Here in Argos, which determined the type of the goddess.



THE JUNO LUDOVISI.

never, by flight, bring disgrace upon Sparta. From this delay it followed that their movement soon became visible to the Persian camp.

Mardonios, in great delight, crossed the Asopos, and hurled his Persians in much disorder upon the Spartan troops who were



SARCOPHAGI AT PLATAIA.¹

marching along on the hill-side, for the Athenians, owing to the route they had taken, were concealed from his sight. All the rest of the army of Mardonios quickly snatched up their standards and followed, without rank or order, advancing in a throng, shouting as they went, in the full persuasion that they were about to overwhelm the Greeks.



PLATAIAN COIN.²

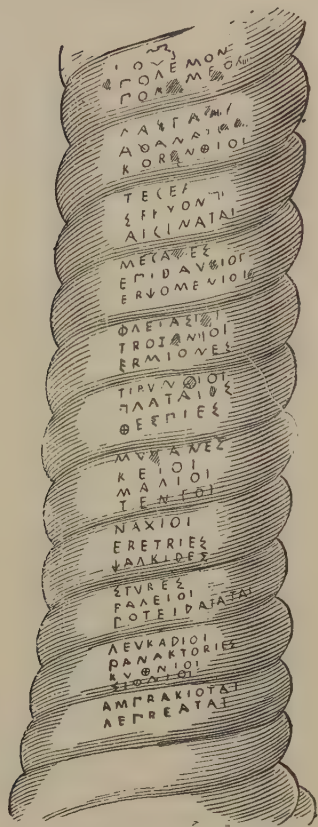
The Spartan troops, being hotly pressed by the Persian cavalry, sent an urgent message, begging the Athenians to come to their aid, which the latter were about to do when the Greek allies of Mardonios fell upon them with such fury that they could do no

¹ From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxii. 48. These sarcophagi are unquestionably of much later date than the fifth century B. C.

² Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΠΑΑ. Head of Here, front face, wearing the high stephanos. (Silver. British Museum.)

more than protect themselves. The Spartans and Tegean hoplites, with their own light-armed troops, were an army of thirty-five thousand men, and perfectly capable of fighting their own battle;

but they were, even at this critical moment, consulting the gods by sacrifices, and the omens continued constantly unfavorable. Therefore they remained inactive, and suffered heavily under showers of arrows which the Persians directed against them from behind the wicker-work shields. Pausanias at last in despair appealed to the goddess Here, looking towards her temple and imploring her not to suffer the hopes of the Greeks to be utterly disappointed.



INSCRIPTION ON THE TRIPOD
OF PLATAIA.¹

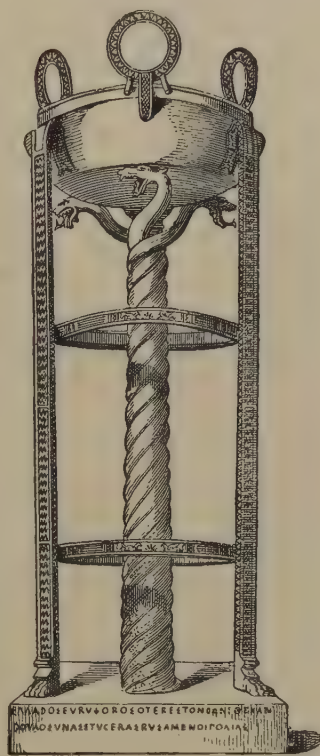
“While he was yet making this invocation,” says Herodotos, “the Tegeans, starting first, advanced against the Barbarians; and immediately after the prayer of Pausanias the omens became favorable when the Spartans sacrificed. They also then advanced against the Persians, and the Persians withstood them, laying aside their bows. First of all there was a contest around the hedge of shields, and when that was thrown down, an obstinate fight ensued near the temple of Demeter, till at last they fought hand to hand, and the Persians, laying hold of the Greek spears, broke them. And indeed in

courage and strength the Persians were not inferior; but besides being lightly armed, they were ignorant of military discipline and not equal to their adversaries in skill; and rushing forward singly, or in tens, or more or fewer in a body, they fell upon the Spartans and perished.

¹ From the *Jahrbuch. des kaiserlich. deutschen archäologischen Institutes*, vol. i. (1886) pp. 176 et seq. (E. Fabricius). The first three lines of the inscription have long been read: Ἀπόλλωνι θεῷ σῶσαντ' ἀνάθημ' ἀπὸ Μήδων. (Röhl, *Inscript. gr. antiquiss.*, No. 70). Fabricius reads, completing the inscription: το[ῖδε τὸν] πόλεμον [ἐ]πολ[έ]μεον. Thirty-one names, known to us already through Herodotos (ix. 81), follow: Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀθηναῖοι. Κορίνθιοι. Τεγεᾶται. Σικυώνιοι (Fabricius, and not Σεκυώνιοι). Αἰγινᾶται. Μεγαρήs. Ἐπιδαύριοι. Ἐρχομένοι. Φλειᾷσιοι. Τροζάνιοι. Ἑρμιονῆs. Τιρύνθιοι. Πλαταιῆs. Θεσπιῆs. Μυκανῆs. Κεῖοι. Μάλιοι. Τήνιοι. Νάξιοι. Ἐρετριῆs. Χαλκιδῆs. Στυρῆs. Φαλείοι. Ποτειδαῖται. Λευκάδιοι. Φανακτοριῆs. Κύθνιοι. Σίφινοι. Ἀμπρακιῶται. Λεπρεᾶται.

"In that part where Mardonios happened to be, mounted on a white horse, at the head of a thousand chosen men, the best of the Persians,—there they pressed their adversaries most closely; and as long as Mardonios was alive they held out, and defending themselves, slew many of the Greeks; but when Mardonios had fallen, and the soldiers immediately surrounding him, then the rest turned to flight, and gave way before their adversaries. Their dress, too, was particularly disadvantageous to them, for, being light-armed, they had to contend with heavy-armed men."

The fugitives retreated in disorder to their own camp, and were followed by the Spartans, who vainly endeavored to force the entrenchment; constantly driven back, they were obliged to await the arrival of the Athenians, for some time detained on the battle-field by the Greek auxiliaries of the Persian army. Of these, only the Boiotians fought with much bravery, and when they were finally routed, the Athenians turned their attention to the Persian camp. Here they soon made a breach in the wall, and the Greeks poured in, making great carnage in this limited space. According to Herodotos, of the three hundred thousand men selected by Mardonios to remain and complete the conquest of Greece, scarcely three thousand were left alive, if we except the forty thousand that Artabazos, foreseeing defeat, had withdrawn from the field at the beginning of the day, and with whom he fled in all haste as soon as the disaster became apparent, taking the road to Thrace, and spreading as he went a report that Mardonios had gained a great victory. Of the Spartans, 91 were killed, with 16



TRIPOD OF PLATAIA. RESTORATION.¹

¹ From E. Fabricius, *Jahrb. d. k. d. arch. Inst.*, vol. i. (1886) pp. 184 *et seq.* Besides the column formed by the three twisted serpents, there is left of this monument only the upper part of one serpent's head. (S. Reinach, *Catalogue du musée imp. d'antiq. de Constantinople*, No. 603.) The inscription engraved on the base:—

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτῆρες τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν
δουλοσύνης στυγερᾶς ψυσάμενοι πύλιας,

is given us by Diodoros, xi. 33, 2.

Tegeans and 52 Athenians. The other Greeks had not been engaged, with the exception of the Megarians, who, unexpectedly charged in the open plain by the Theban cavalry while they were hurrying across in disorder towards Plataia, had broken and fled, losing six hundred men.¹

The Athenians and Spartans hotly disputed the prize of valor; a Megarian proposed to them to waive their claim, and all united



MILETOS AND MOUNT MYKALE.²

in favor of the Plataians, who, according to custom, had fought with the Athenians. A decree proposed by Aristides was passed that the allied Greeks should form against Persia a defensive league, arming 10,000 hoplites, 1,000 horse, and 100 triremes; that they should annually send deputies to Plataia to commemorate, by solemn sacrifices, the death of those slain on the battle-field; and every five years games, called the Festival of Liberty (Eleutheria), should be celebrated there. Also that the Plataians.

¹ These figures of Herodotus are very low. Plutarch speaks of 1,360 killed; but Diodoros goes too far in saying 10,000.

² From a photograph. At the right is the village of Plataia, situated on the site of Miletos, in the valley of the Maiandros. On the horizon is Mount Mykale.

whose duty it was henceforth to offer sacrifices and prayers for the safety of Greece, should be in future regarded as a nation sacred and inviolate.

An altar was erected in the public place to Zeus Eleutherios; for the first sacrifice, the Plataian Eucheidas ran from the camp to Delphi, to obtain fire from the national sanctuary,—the only temple of Central Greece that had not been polluted by the presence of Barbarians. The distance was more than sixty miles, and tradition says that the runner brought back the fire in one day, but, like the soldier of Marathon, fell dead on completing his task.¹

The loot of the Persian camp was immense.

“Pausanias, having made proclamation,” says Herodotos, “that no one should touch the booty, commanded the Helots to bring together all the treasures. They accordingly, dispersing themselves through the camp, found tents decked with gold and silver, and gilt couches, and plated and golden bowls and cups and drinking vessels; they also found in bags, gold and silver caldrons; and from the dead bodies they stripped bracelets, necklaces, and scymitars of gold; but no account at all was taken of the variegated apparel. . . . Having collected the treasures together and taken from them a tithe for the god at Delphi, from which



HEBE.²

¹ The Pythia ordered that all the altar-fires which had been polluted by the presence of the Barbarians should be extinguished and re-lighted from the altar at Delphi (Plutarch, *Aristeides*, 9).

² Marble head in a private collection (from R. Kékulé, *Hebe*, 1867, pl. 1). Hebe was the child of Zeus and Here. The reader should compare this head with that of the Juno Ludovisi (page 487).

the golden tripod was dedicated which stands on the three-headed brazen serpent close to the altar; and having taken out a tithe for the god at Olympia, from which they dedicated the brazen Zeus, ten cubits high; and a tithe to the god at the Isthmus, from which was made the brazen Poseidon, seven cubits high,—having taken out these, they divided the rest, and each took his share. . . . Now what choice presents were given to those who most distinguished themselves at Plataia, is mentioned by no one; yet I am of opinion that such presents were given them. But for Pausanias, ten of everything was selected and given him,—women, horses, talents, camels, and all other treasures in like manner.

“It is said also that the following occurred,—that Xerxes, fleeing from Greece, left all his camp equipage to Mardonios, and that Pausanias, therefore, seeing the equipage, with its gold and silver, and party-colored hangings, ordered the bakers and cooks to prepare a supper in the same manner as for Mardonios; and when they, being ordered, had done so, that Pausanias, seeing the gold and silver couches richly carved, and the gold and silver tables, and magnificent preparations for the supper, astonished at the profusion set before him, in derision ordered his own attendants to prepare a Spartan supper; and that when the repast was spread, the difference was great, and Pausanias, laughing, sent for the generals of the Greeks, to whom, when they had assembled, he said, pointing to each preparation for supper: ‘Men of Greece, I have called you together to show you the folly of the leader of the Medes, who, having such fare as this, has come to us who have such poor fare, to take it from us.’ It is related that Pausanias said this to the generals of the Greeks.”

The dead were buried on the field, the Spartans making three tumuli for their officers, soldiers, and Helots, separately; the Tegeans had their sepulchre; the Athenians and Megarians theirs; and the Plataians were the guardians of all these graves.

“Of all the others,” says Herodotos, “whose sepulchres are seen in Plataia, they, as I am informed, being ashamed of their absence from the battle, severally threw up empty mounds for the sake of future generations. For instance, there is a sepulchre there called that of the Aiginetans, which, I hear, Kleades, a Plataian who was their friend, threw up ten years after the event, at the request of the Aiginetans.”

On the golden tripod at Delphi were engraved, however, the names of all who had taken part in the war of liberation. The king of Sparta had the presumption to cause this inscription to be engraved on it: “The leader of the Greeks, Pausanias, after having destroyed the Median army, consecrated this offering to

Apollo, — a vainglorious act, characteristic of this feeble and arrogant personage, whom we shall meet with at a later period. Upon this the Plataians formally complained to the Amphiktyonic Council that one man should thus take to himself the honor due to all; the council condemned his action, and the verse of Simonides was erased from the tripod, and in its stead engraved the list of honor of the thirty-one cities which had fought at Plataia.¹

In the recent battle the Thebans had given active aid to Mardonios.

On the eleventh day after the victory, the Greek army appeared before their walls and compelled them to give up the authors of this treachery, and Pausanias had them put to death in Corinth (479 B. C.).

While the Greeks were gaining this great victory on land, their fleet, under command of the Spartan Leotychides, made itself famous by a brilliant sea-fight, which was said to have occurred on the same day with the battle of Plataia.

The fleet was at Delos, afraid to venture farther, notwithstanding the prayers of the Ionian exiles, who implored Leotychides to cross over to the Asiatic coast. Envoys from Samos were more successful. Leotychides sailed to that island; and as the Persians fled at his approach, he pursued them as far as Mykale. The Persian troops disembarked, in order to place themselves under the protection of an army of sixty thousand men which Xerxes, who was still in Sardis, had detained to support his authority in Ionia. The Greeks in their turn landed, and shortly perceived with astonishment that there was much disorder in the Persian camp. The general in command, fearing treachery on the part of the allied Greeks, had disarmed the Samians, and was



COIN OF A SATRAP.²

¹ Thucydides, i. 132; iii. 57; Pseudo-Demosthenes, *Against Neaira*, 97. The Phokidians, during the Sacred War, carried off this tripod. Its base, consisting of three bronze serpents, was found in 1856 at Constantinople, whither it had been carried by Constantine. The thirty-one names are still legible upon it.

² Baaltars, or Zeus of Tarsos, seated, leaning on his sceptre, and holding in the right hand an ear of wheat and a bunch of grapes; under his throne the ansate cross. Aramaic legend: בעלתרז (Baaltars). Reverse: in an incused square, a lion devouring a stag. Aramaic legend: מזדא (Mazda). The explanation of this legend has given rise to many controversies. (Tetradrachm struck at Tarsos.)

sending the Milesians away on pretext of employing them to guard the mountain paths. Just as the battle began, there passed through the Greek lines, tradition says, a rumor that, a few hours earlier in Boiotia, their kinsmen had defeated Mardonios. With redoubled confidence and ardor, the troops attacked; the Persians vainly sought to defend themselves behind the hedge of their shields, as at Plataia; they broke and fled, the camp was forced, the Persian generals and nearly all of the soldiers perished. This was the last army of Xerxes. The Athenians, commanded by Xanthippos, the father of Perikles, had the chief glory of the day, for they gained the victory almost unaided, the Spartans having lost their way in an attempt to surround the Persian camp.

Thus not only had the Greeks repulsed the enemy who threatened their homes, but they had now themselves carried hostilities into the country of the foe. This last victory was equivalent to a conquest of the Ægæan Sea. In less than a year they had defeated the Persians at Salamis, Plataia, and Mykale, and from being the attacked party, they had become aggressors and conquering invaders. Who would have believed, a few months earlier, that the greatness of Asia would find its grave in Greece? All the multitudes of the East could not prevail against that little nation, which had in her the twofold genius of civilization and of liberty. It was also a young world getting the better of a world grown old and exhausted. The Greeks felt this themselves. The divinity they invoked at Mykale, their rallying-cry, was Hebe, personified youth. On the same day that the battle of Salamis was fought, the Sicilian Greeks gained a great victory under Gelon of Syracuse, near Himera, destroying three hundred thousand Carthaginians.² The hour of triumph for the Hellenic race had struck.

Then what long and legitimate enthusiasm! The great Median epic had its inimitable historian in Herodotos, and its poet in Aischylos, — Herodotos, who read portions of his History at the great games of delighted and rejoicing Greece; Aischylos, the

ZEUS.¹

¹ Zeus standing, holding the thunderbolt in his right hand, and probably the eagle on his left. Before him an owl. Legend: AΘE. (Reverse of a bronze Athenian coin.)

² Herodotos, vii. 166.

soldier of Marathon and Salamis, whose burning verses called out in the Athenian theatre tumults of applause. What transports must it have excited in those ardent souls to behold Atossa, the haughty queen who had asked Darius to give her Athenian and



HUMAN-HEADED BULLS OF THE PALACE OF DARIUS AT PERSEPOLIS.¹

Argive and Spartan women for her slaves, and who, now that Xerxes her son has gone to seek those slaves, hearing no news from him, and tortured with anxiety, relates to the chorus of old men how she has seen a kite pursue and tear the Persian eagle! The

¹ From a photograph by Madame Jane Dieulafoy.

chorus, who already know what has happened, reply, seeking to encourage her. The queen will know all, and questions them.

- Atossa.* But first, my friends, I wish to hear of Athens:
Where in the world do men report it standeth?
Chorus. Far to the west, where sets our king, the Sungod.
Atossa. Was it this city my son wished to capture?
Chorus. Aye; then would Hellas to our king be subject.
Atossa. And have they any multitude of soldiers?
Chorus. A mighty host, that wrought the Medes much mischief.
Atossa. And what besides? Have they too wealth sufficing?
Chorus. A fount of silver have they, their land's treasure.
Atossa. Have they a host in archer's skill excelling?
Chorus. Not so; they wield the spear and shield and bucklers.
Atossa. What shepherd rules and lords it o'er their people?
Chorus. Of no man are they called the slaves or subjects.
Atossa. How then can they sustain a foe invading?
Chorus. So that they spoiled Darius' goodly army.
Atossa. Dread news is thine for sires of those who are marching."

Later the ghost of Darius appears, invoked by the old men, that he may tell them a cure for all the ills that have fallen upon Persia, and how they can now prosper best. Darius answers:

"If ye no more attack the Hellenes' land,
E'en though the Median host outnumber theirs . . .
To them the very land is true ally,
It slays with famine those vast multitudes."

The chorus, in strophe and antistrophe, dilate upon the woes that have lately fallen on Persia:—

"For now the land of Asia mourneth sore,
Left desolate of men.
'Twas Xerxes led them forth, woe, woe!
'Twas Xerxes lost them all, woe, woe!
'Twas Xerxes who with evil counsels sped
Their course in sea-borne barques.

And throughout all Asia's borders
None now own the sway of Persia,
Nor bring any more their tribute,
Owning sway of sovereign master.
Low upon the earth laid prostrate
Is the strength of our great monarch.
No more need men keep in silence

Tongues fast bound; for now the people
 May with freedom speak at pleasure,
 For the yoke of power is broken;
 And, blood-stained in all its meadows,
 Holds the sea-washed isle of Aias
 What was once the host of Persia."

These last words said to the audience two things, which gave the Greeks as much pleasure as their own deliverance did; namely, that by reason of their victories a republican government had triumphed over an Oriental despotism, and liberty of soul over slavery.

Then is introduced Xerxes, his kingly robes rent; and as to the ancients vengeance was a delicious fruit, the Greeks relished these humiliations of the Great King, answering with groans to the lamenting chorus:—

Xerxes. Weep for our sorrow, weep!
 Yea, go ye to the house!
Chorus. Woe for our griefs, woe, woe!
Xerxes. Cry out an echoing cry.
Chorus. Ill gift of ills on ills.
Xerxes. Weep on in wailing chant!
Chorus. Oh! ah! oh! ah!
Xerxes. Grievous our bitter woes!
Chorus. Ah me! I mourn them sore.

Xerxes. Ply, ply your hands and groan;
 Yea, for my sake bewail!
Chorus. I weep in bitter grief.
Xerxes. Cry out an echoing cry.
Chorus. Yea, we may raise our voice,
 O Lord and King, in wail!
Xerxes. Raise, now, shrill cry of woe.
Chorus. Ah me! ah, woe is me!
Xerxes. Yea, with it mingle dark . . .
Chorus. And bitter grievous blows.

Xerxes. Raise a re-echoing cry.
Chorus. Ah, woe! ah, woe!
Xerxes. Go to thy home with wallings long and loud.
Chorus. O land of Persia, full of lamentations!
Xerxes. Through the town raise your cries.
Chorus. We raise them; yea, we raise.

Xerxes. Wail, wail, ye men that walked so daintily.

Chorus. O Land of Persia, full of lamentations!

Woe! woe!

Xerxes. Alas for those who in the triremes perished!

Chorus. With broken cries of woe will I escort thee."

And the chorus leaves the stage uttering wild cries, at last drowned in the applause of the Athenians, rejoicing spectators now of the drama in which they had not long before been themselves actors on the resounding waves of Salamis.

¹ Horseman armed with a shield and galloping to the left; a colossal Victory is standing beside the horse, and has grasped him by the mane. Reverse: the hero Taras, kneeling on a dolphin, which is swimming to the left. He extends the right hand in sign of triumph, and holds in the left his shield and two lances. In the field, IOP (-178). Silver coin of Tarentum (see p. 229).



HORSEMAN LED BY A VICTORY.¹

FOURTH PERIOD.

SUPREMACY OF ATHENS (479-431 B. C.).

GROWTH OF LITERATURE AND THE ARTS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE PERSIAN INVASION TO THE THIRTY YEARS' TRUCE (479-445).

I. — THE LONG WALLS; PEIRÆIUS; ATHENIAN CONFEDERATION.

ALTHOUGH Greece as a whole was triumphant, one State exulted above all the rest. The chief glory of having expelled the invasion belonged to Athens. "Some deity," says Pindar,¹ "hath turned aside the stone of Tantalos which hung above our heads." But Herodotos, who in his character of historian seeks the truth in facts rather than in mythological allusions, says, "Athens has been the liberator of Greece."² At Marathon she conquered alone;



ATHENIAN COIN.³

at Salamis she compelled the allies to conquer in spite of themselves. The glory of Mykale was almost completely hers, and she shared in that of Plataia, where the Athenians displayed their ordinary valor, less theatrical, but surer and more skilful than that of Sparta. What Greek State could bring forward a name worthy to be placed beside the names of Miltiades, Themistokles, and Aristeides, — Themistokles especially, who in his faults as well as in his virtues was the most perfect type of the Greek race?

¹ *Isthmic*, vii. 19.

² vii. 39.

³ Triptolemos, standing on a chariot drawn by two winged dragons. Reverse: a Victory stepping to the right, holding a palm and a wreath. (Bronze.)

In her share of the spoils, Athens received the silver-footed throne of Xerxes and the scymitar of Mardonios, estimated at a value of three hundred darics,¹—and this was no more than just.

We know Themistokles well,—supple, crafty, bold, fruitful in resources even in the midst of danger; unscrupulous as to means, if they lead to the end desired. His hands were not always pure,—so say Herodotos and Plutarch; he could be bribed, but he was able to reconcile venality with patriotism, and the bribe, after he had accepted it, was often employed in the service of liberty. Posterity, severe upon such adulterous alliances, judges him harshly, and so did Athens; above his name history



ATHENIAN COIN.¹

places the man who was the good genius of his city,—Aristeides,—whom the people, assembled in the theatre, publicly saluted as “the just,” and who by his moderation held back Themistokles and the Athenians. Shortly after the war, Themistokles sought permission from the Athenians to carry out a plan which he said would be of great benefit to Athens, but must be executed in secrecy. Upon this the assembly empowered Aristeides to receive the secret, and judge for the State whether the plan should or should not be carried out. Aristeides made report that the scheme was extremely useful, but extremely unjust; and the people thereupon rejected it. The proposal of Themistokles is said to have been to burn the Greek fleet which was in the harbor of Pagasai, thus leaving Athens the sole maritime power in Greece. Aristeides fought at Salamis and also at Plataia. At the latter battle he took pains to appease his angry countrymen, offended by the repeated changes the Spartan general made in their position, for the purpose of opposing them to the Persians. “Any place is



BRONZE.³

¹ Demosthenes, *Against Timokrates*, 129.

² Tetradrachm bearing the name of Themistokles. Names of magistrates: ΘΕΜΙΣΤ., ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΙΟΣ, ΑΥΞΑΝΙ. Above, ΑΘΕ. Owl standing upon an amphora; in the field, at the right, the prow of the galley of Themistokles, surmounted by a trophy, in memory of the victory of Salamis. Letter on the amphora, H; under it ME, mint-mark. The whole surrounded by an olive-wreath (Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, pp. 305–306).

³ Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens. An owl standing on the extremity of the prow of the galley. On the obverse is a helmeted head of Pallas (Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 313). See p. 452, another coin with the same type.

good," he said, "to do a man's duty and to die at his post." And later it was always he who acted as a peacemaker between the rival cities.

Such, then, did the Athenians show themselves to be, under their illustrious leaders, — brave, intelligent, resolute to serve in all places and by all methods the common cause of Greece.

Sparta, on the contrary, remained in the shade, although placed by unanimous consent in the first rank. In each campaign her incredible delays had left the Athenians without assistance. She gave, indeed, the hero of Thermopylai, Leonidas; but Eurybiades, who received the prize of valor, did not merit that of prudence, and Pausanias, who conquered at Plataia, while doing little to secure that victory, soon after disgraced his name by a guilty ambition.

Such, however, was the ascendancy of Lacedæmon, by reason of her ancient renown, that Athens, in spite of her services, found only coolness or envy on every side. She was a new-comer whose fame gave offence. Themistokles had not allowed himself to be dazzled by the honors Sparta had paid him, but it may be they were the cause, among his jealous fellow-citizens, whose public servant he was, of the mistrust that kept him



THEMISTOKLES (?).¹

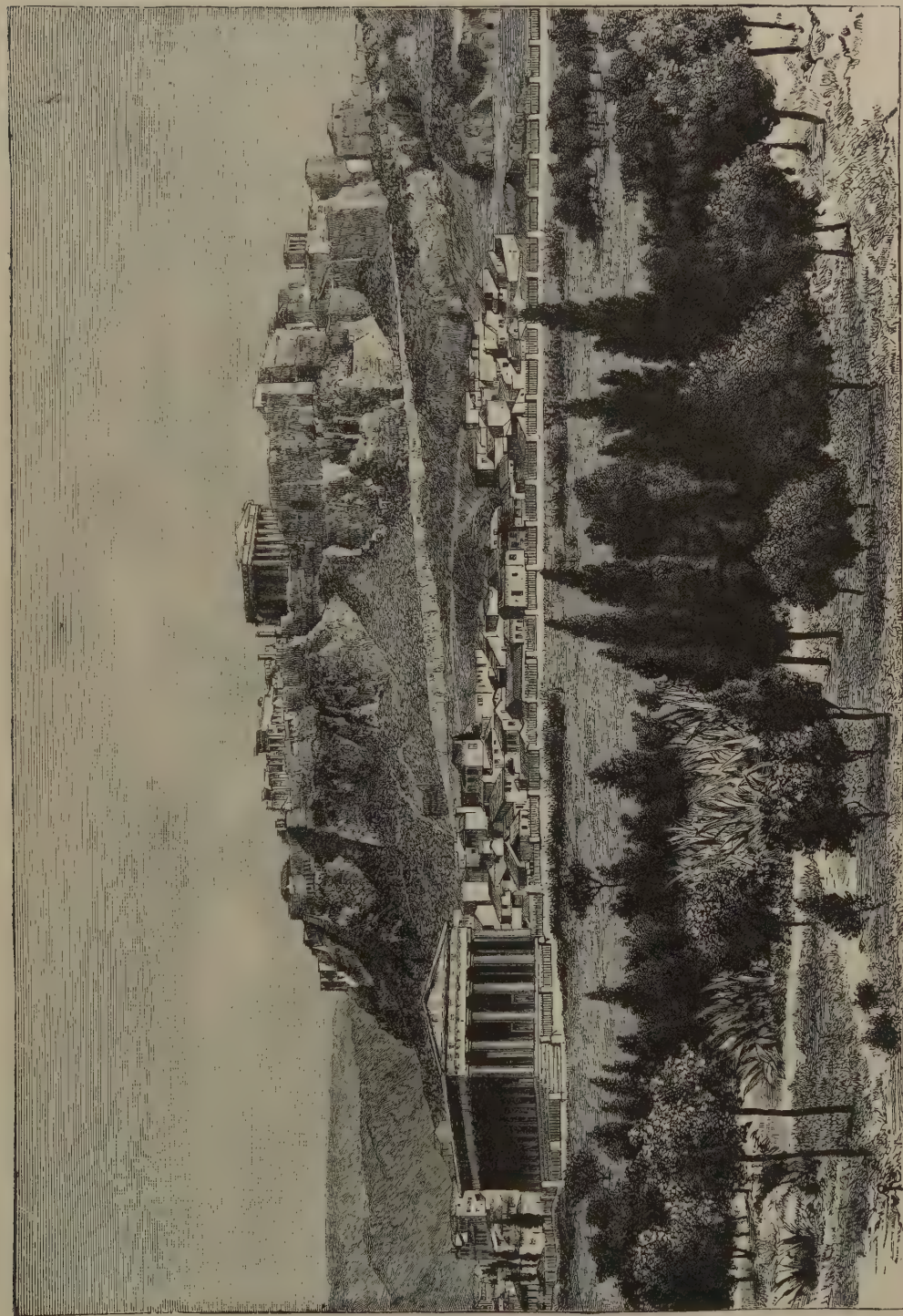
remote from any command in the memorable year of Mykale and Plataia. He saw his danger, and found a remedy. Athens was in ruins, and the statues of her gods were shattered; six centuries later, Pausanias saw them blackened and calcined by fire. The city had preserved these shapeless fragments that she might never forget the unjust aggression of the nation which thenceforth became the hereditary enemy of Greece. There now remained to the city of Pallas no other rampart than that of which the poet speaks, — her

¹ From Visconti, *Iconografia greca*, pl. 14, 4.

valiant sons. Themistokles prevailed upon the assembly to make the patriotic declaration that no man should build his own house, should lay hands upon the ruins which belonged to him, until the city had been surrounded with a strong wall. The whole population fell to work; for material, they took whatever lay at hand, — stones from tombs, columns from temples, statues of heroes and gods. In this way the wall was built the sooner, and it seemed that it would thus be the stronger.

There was need of haste, for already the emissaries of Aigina had hastened to Sparta to denounce the undertaking. Sparta sent a deputation to Athens: "It is not suitable," the envoys said, "to fortify any city outside the Peloponnesos. To do so is to prepare a citadel for the Barbarians, a stronghold whence they can never be driven out. The real fortress of Greece is the Peloponnesos, and Sparta will render its entrance impossible. . . ." As if it were possible to prevent the Barbarians from landing at any one of a thousand points in the peninsula! Themistokles expected this hypocritical counsel; but the wall was not yet high enough to risk an attack, — to gain time, he caused himself to be sent solemnly to Sparta to carry the reply of Athens; he made the journey as slowly as possible, and on his arrival took no steps towards being received by the senate or the ephors. When the latter expressed astonishment, he said only that he was awaiting the arrival of his colleagues, detained, doubtless, by some urgent cause. Meantime at Athens every one was at work, — men, women, the aged, and children. Report of this came from every side to Sparta. Themistokles, being interrogated, still denied, and advised the ephors to send certain of their fellow-citizens to see with their own eyes. These were hostages for his own safety that he thus caused to be sent to Athens. He himself secretly instructed the Athenians to detain these Spartans until his own return; at length, when he knew that the wall was of height suffi-

NOTE. — The view of the Akropolis (from a photograph) on the opposite page is taken from the N. N. W. In the foreground is the Theseion (see Vol. I. p. 573); at the left is Hymettos. The wall of Themistokles was built along the precipitous rocks on the north of the Akropolis, called in ancient times the Long Rocks (*Μακρὰ Πέτρα*); a part of it is yet standing, and presents the aspect described by Thucydides (i. 93, 1). In it may be seen (immediately above the northwest angle of the Theseion) parts of columns and a Doric entablature from the Parthenon burned by Xerxes.



THE AKROPOLIS AND THE WALL OF THEMISTOKLES.

cient to shelter the reviving city from insult, he went boldly into the senate at Sparta, saying: "The Athenians did not wait for your advice before abandoning their city and embarking on shipboard, nor have they need of it now before rebuilding their walls. Let envoys be sent to them on reasonable grounds, and they will willingly discuss what concerns the general interests of Greece." The Spartans were able to dissimulate. They affected to receive the news without displeasure, and regretted that their intentions had been so misunderstood. An ancient author attributes to Themistokles an expedient still more sure to succeed: before Salamis, he had bribed Eurybiades; he now bribed the ephors.²

COIN OF THEBES.¹

PENINSULA OF PEIRÆUS.

Not long after, he again incurred the displeasure of the Spartans; they wished to exclude from the Amphiktyonic Council the States that had not fought against the Persians. This would have been but a trivial punishment for their cowardly conduct; Athens, however, had an interest in supporting herself against the supremacy of Sparta on the mainland by aid of these States of secondary importance, Argos, Thebes, and Thessaly. Themistokles

¹ Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΘΕ. Head of Herakles, with the lion's skin, left profile. (Silver.)

² Theopompos, quoted by Plutarch, *Themistokles*, 19.

maintained that if this proposition were favorably received, the supreme tribunal of the Hellenic nation would be given into the power of two or three cities; and it was accordingly rejected. But Sparta never forgave the man who had thus defeated her.

Athens was fortified; she now required a harbor worthy of her power. Phaleron was too small, and was, besides, insecure. At the west of these roads, and five miles distant from the city, the coast offered three harbors of size to shelter four hundred vessels. The attention of Themistokles had long been attracted to this point of the coast. Engineering works had already been executed there, and he resumed them, enclosing Peiraieus and Mounychia with a wall about twenty-one feet

BRONZE.¹TETRADRACHM OF SMYRNA.²

in height and nearly seven miles long, broad enough for two chariots to pass, and formed of enormous blocks of hewn stone clamped together with metal. The next work to be done was to unite Peiraieus with the city by a walled road insuring communication.³ This

project was conceived by Themistokles, and executed by Kimon and Perikles. To maintain the maritime supremacy of Athens, Themistokles would have twenty triremes built annually; and to increase her population he urged upon his fellow-citizens to promise immunities to foreigners, especially of the working-class, who

¹ Owl standing on the prow of a galley. On the extremity of the prow, another owl as a symbol. Legend: ΑΘΕ. The whole surrounded by an olive-wreath. (Bronze coin.) Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 313.

² Head of Kybele, with mural crown; right profile. Reverse: ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ. Lion roaring and lifting the paw; before him the monogram of a magistrate's name; behind him, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ, the name of another magistrate. The whole surrounded by a wreath of oak-leaves.

³ In a country bristling with mountains, like Greece, many of the inhabitants dwelt near the shore, and they needed for their cities, from the point of view of defence, a site difficult of access, which they could further fortify by building a citadel, or akropolis; and for their commerce, a harbor by which they were in communication with the sea. They attained this object by connecting the harbor with the city by long walls (which they called "legs," σκέλη), as at Athens and Megara, where they are no longer standing, and in Epeiros, at Limnaia (Kervasará), where they have been discovered (Heuzey, *Acarnania*, p. 320, pl. 4).

might come to reside in the city.¹ This latter recommendation, liberally acted upon, had the most favorable results. From all parts of Greece men came to the hospitable city, and Athens found, later, in her increasing population the means of sending out numerous colonies, which contributed to her prosperity.



COINS OF THRACIAN KINGS.

After the victory of Mykale the conquerors discussed among themselves what should be the fate of the Ionians. The Spartans, declaring that it was impossible to protect cities so remote from Greece, made a proposition that the Asiatic Greeks should aban-

¹ He caused the enfranchisement, for a certain length of time, from taxes of every kind, of those who hired houses in the city, and all artisans, for the purpose of attracting to Athens the industrial class (Diodoros, I. xi. ch. xliii.).

² ΣΠΑ. Fore part of a horse, galloping to the right. Reverse: in an incused square an eagle flying, with a serpent in its beak. (Silver.)

³ Horseman armed with two lances, on a horse stepping to the left. In the field a helmet. Reverse: in an incused square, ΣΠΑΡΑΔΟΚΟ. Eagle tearing a serpent with its beak. (Silver.) Sparadokos, brother of Sitalkes, was, according to Thucydides, king of the Odrysian Thracians about the year 530 B. C. (See *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. iii. pp. 409 *et seq.*)

⁴ Head of Metokos (or of Dionysos), right profile. Legend: ΜΗΤΟΚΟ. Reverse: bipenna and bunch of grapes. (Silver.) Metokos was, according to Xenophon, king of the Odrysian Thracians about 400 B. C. (See *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. v. p. 95, and pl. ii. 1.)

⁵ Horseman with lance, on a horse galloping to the right. Reverse: in two lines: ΣΕΥΘΑ ΚΟΜΜΑ. Seuthes I. was king of the Odrysian Thracians about 424 B. C. The word ΚΟΜΜΑ seems to signify "coin." (See Barclay V. Head, *Historia numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, p. 240.)

⁶ ΑΜΑΔΟΚΟ. Bipenna. Reverse: in an incused square a magistrate's name: ΕΠΙ ΔΗ[ΜΟΚΡ]ΙΤΟ; in the centre, in a beaded square, a vine-stock. Amadokos I. was king of the Odrysian Thracians about 420 B. C.

don their homes and take possession of the lands of those States of European Greece which had not fought for liberty. To destroy Miletos, Phokaia, Smyrna, Halikarnassos, was to give Asia back to barbarism. But Sparta cared nothing for that.

SILVER COIN.¹

Athens replied that no one had a right to interfere in the affairs of her colonies, and she allowed the Ionians for the moment to make what terms they could with Persia, until she herself should be strong enough to undertake their deliverance. Chios, Lesbos, Samos, and most of the insular cities were declared members of the Hellenic body.

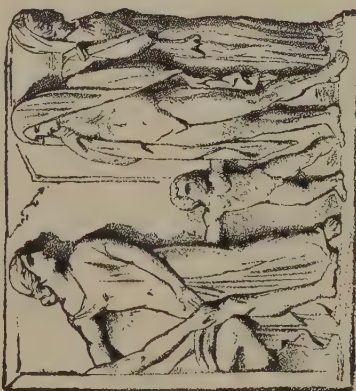
The victory of Mykale gave the Greeks the Ægæan Sea, but the enemy still possessed Thrace. A great number of Persians, even men of the highest rank, were there as residents or in garrison. First of all it was important to rid the European continent of these Asiatics, and to drive them back across the Hellespont, in the intention later of pursuing them thither. The Greek fleet accordingly sailed to destroy the bridges that Xerxes had built between Sestos and Abydos, which were supposed to be still there. But Leotychides

COIN OF BYZANTION.²

¹ Coin of the Thracian Chersonesos. Fore part of a lion, with head reverted and open mouth. Reverse, incused square. These coins are believed to have been minted at Kardias, a city of the Chersonesos.

² A bull; under him a dolphin; in the field the syllable BY, initial of Byzantion. Reverse, incused square. The peculiar form of the letter B will be remarked, — a form belonging to the Dorian alphabet.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a sarcophagus at Naples (from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. iii. pl. 40). On the front is Protesilaos returning from the kingdom of Hades. The hero departed to the Trojan war on the day following his marriage, and was the first of all the Greeks to perish on Trojan soil. Laodamia, his wife, ceased not to lament him and to offer sacrifices to him. The artist represents her in her dwelling; an altar with wood laid upon it stands near a hermes of Dionysos, and Laodamia with a vase in her hand is making libations and invoking the shade of her husband, who appears behind the altar wrapped in his shroud. Around her are her women; two bring baskets containing objects to be used for the sacrifice. Meantime, Protesilaos, having obtained permission from Hades to return for a day to the earth, appears suddenly at the left, accompanied by Charon and Hermes Psychopompos; at sight of him Laodamia sinks, agitated, upon the ground. On the sides, at the right of Helios with radiate crown, is represented the parting of husband and wife, between whom stands Eros. Laodamia holds in her hand the dagger with which she will kill herself as soon as her husband is again taken from her. On the left of Hekate, with a lighted torch in her hand and a crescent on her head, is represented the hero's return into the under-world. He is wrapped in his shroud, and advances slowly, guided by Eros, towards the throne of Hades; Persephone stands beside the god.



Side.



Side.

PROTESILAOS AND LAODAMAIA.

found that the sea had already performed this task; accordingly, he returned to the coast of the Peloponnesos. But Xanthippos and the Athenians were not content to have gone so far without at least recovering the Chersonesos, which, before the late war, had belonged to them. A Persian, Artayktes, was in command there, and by his acts of violence and extortion had made himself hated by the whole Greek population; Elaious could not forgive him for having profaned and pillaged the

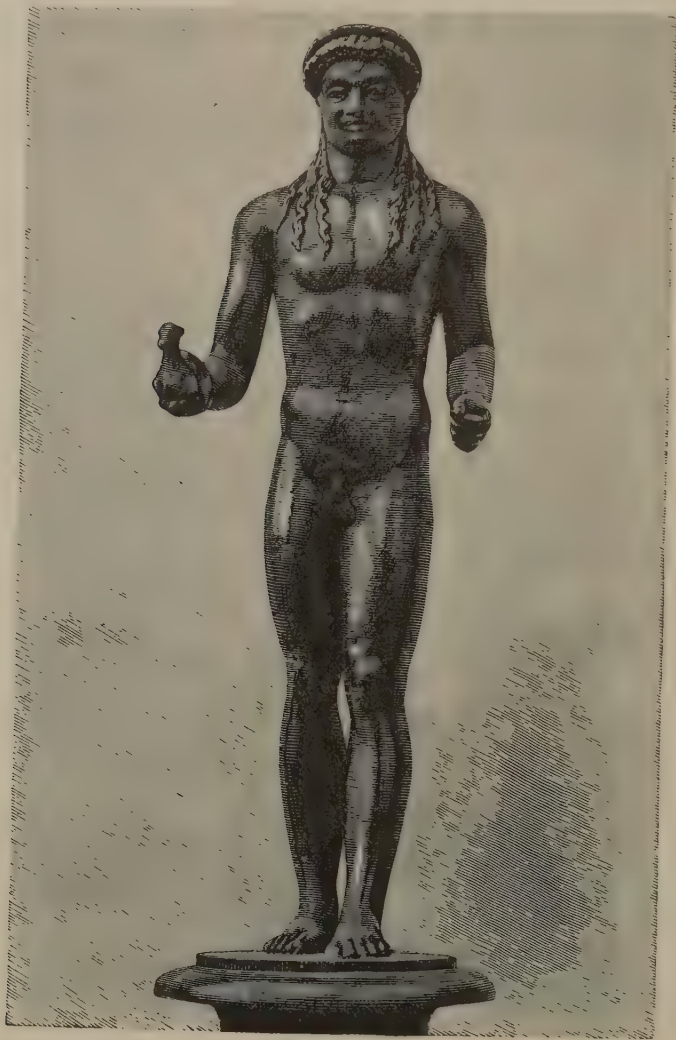
ACHAEMENID COIN.¹VIEW OF THE ORIGINAL TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT DELOS.²

temple of her hero, Protesilaos. The Athenians besieged him in Sestos, and remained all the autumn before the place. Famine finally drove out Artayktes, who, taken as he was escaping, offered

¹ Achaemenid king, standing, and drawing his bow. Imhoof detects in front of the king the head of a goat in intaglio, and behind him, also in intaglio, a bearded head of colossal size. Reverse, galley with four sails, upon the waves. (Silver coin of an Achaemenid king. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 448, and pl. J. No. 8.)

² From A. Lebègue, *Recherches sur Délos*, pl. 1. This temple is situated on the side of Mount Kynthos, the akropolis of the Island of Delos. It is excavated in the hill-side, and is a cyclopean work of the most ancient style. Here was the oracle of Delos. This temple should be compared with that of Mount Oche, in Euboia (p. 97).

three hundred talents to save his life. Being delivered up to the people of Elaious, he was crucified, after seeing his son put to



APOLLO.¹

death (478 B.C.). The victorious fleet carried away to Athens the cables of the bridges with which Xerxes had assumed to bind the ocean, and hung them up in the Akropolis.

¹ Bronze in the British Museum known as the Payne-Knight Apollo (from a photograph). This is a copy of the Didymaean statue, the famous work of Kanachos of Sikyon. The god holds in the right hand a stag, and in the left his bow. (Cf. the Apollo found at Piombino, p. 201, and a coin of Miletos, p. 196.)

Thus, even before Athens had emerged from her ruins, her fleet was reconstructing her maritime empire. As early as the following year, the bold sailors were again at sea. To the thirty

1		2	
ΑΤΟΝΗ		ΑΜΙΟΝΗΟ	
ΤΡΙΑΚΟ		ΕΘΑΝΘΕ	
ΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ		ΑΙΟΙΣΜΝΑ	
ΟΜΙΤΑΙ:ΗΡ	ΗΑΒ	ΓΑΙ:ΧΗΗΡΔΔΔΠ'Α	Σ
ΝΔΙΟΙ:ΡΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ	ΟΛΥΝΟ	ΣΚΑ	ΙΙΙΙΜΥΔ.ΝΕΣ
ΝΑΙΟΙΕΝΙ	ΔΕΛΙΟ	ΣΕ	ΚΙΑ.ΟΙ:Δ
ΑΡΟΙ:ΗΔΔΔΗ	ΡΙΤΑΙ:Η	Η//	Α.ΤΑΚΕΝC
ΓΣΣΙΟΙ:Η	ΣΕΡΜΥΛ	ΚΡΗΗΡΔΔΗ	Ι.ΕΑ.ΟΛΙΣ
ΛΕΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ:ΔΔΔΗ	ΙΙΙ ΜΕΚΥΡΕΡ	ΙΟΙ vac.	Ν.ΛΙΚΕΙ:ΔΓ
ΛΑΜΠΟΜΕΙΑ	ΙΔΡΗΙΙ.ΣΤΟΙΟΙ:Η	Ι	ΒΕΡ.ΣΙΟΙΗΥΡΟ
ΙΙΙ	ΗΑΒΙΚΑΡ	ΧΑΣΤΑΙ:ΗΗΔ	ΔΗΠ
ΡΗΗ	ΝΑΣΣΕ:ΗΡΔΡΗΙΙ	ΣΙΛΛΙΟΙ:ΗΗ	ΗΗ
ΗΗΗ	ΣΤΡΕΦΣΑΙΟΙ:Η	ΘΑΣΙΟΙ:ΗΗΗ	
Η	ΛΑΛΕΦΣΙΟΙ:ΗΡ	ΜΥΣΟΙ:ΔΔΔΗ	
ΡΗΗΗΗ	ΚΥΡΒΙΣΣΟΣ:ΔΔΔΗ	ΗΙΚΡΕΣΣΥΛ	
ΔΙ	ΔΙΔΥΜΟΤΕΙ	ΚΕΔΡΙΕΤΑ	
ΔΗΗΗΔΔΗ	ΧΙΤΑΙ:ΔΡΗΙΙ	ΚΕΡΑΜΙΟΙ:	
	ΑΙΟΡΟ	ΒΟΥΘΕΙΕΣ:	
	ΙΙΗΗ	ΚΥΛΛΑΜΑΙ	
	ΟΙ		
		ΓΑΙ:ΧΗΗΡΔΔΔΠ'Α	Σ
		ΣΚΑ	ΙΙΙΙΜΥΔ.ΝΕΣ
		ΣΕ	ΚΙΑ.ΟΙ:Δ
		Η//	Α.ΤΑΚΕΝC
		ΚΡΗΗΡΔΔΗ	Ι.ΕΑ.ΟΛΙΣ
		ΙΟΙ vac.	Ν.ΛΙΚΕΙ:ΔΓ
		Ι	ΒΕΡ.ΣΙΟΙΗΥΡΟ
		ΔΗΠ	ΤΕΙ.ΔΕΙ:ΔΡΗΙΙ
		ΗΗ	ΑΥΛΙΑΤΑΙΚΑΡΕΣΡΗ
			ΙΑΤΑΙ:Η
			ΡΑΡΙΑΝΟΙ:Η
			ΑΣΚΥΕΙΟΝ
			ΠΡΟΦΟΝΤΙΔΙ:ΡΗΗΗ
			ΙΑΙΜΕΤΑΙ:ΧΧΧ
			ΑΙΛΕΣΙΟΙ
			ΧΣΛΕΡΟ:ΗΗΗ
			ΛΕΣΙΟΙ
			ΡΙΧΙΟΣΣΡ

FRAGMENT OF TABLET CONTAINING SUMS LEVIED FROM THE ALLIES.¹

Athenian vessels commanded by Aristides and Kimon, son of Miltiades, were added twenty galleys from the Peloponnesos; and this fleet, under the command of Pausanias, set sail for Cyprus, expelled the Persians from the larger part of this island, then

¹ *Corpus inscr. Attic.*, i. 226, p. 96. In the treasury of Athens, in the *opisthodomos* of the Parthenon, were deposited the tributes, from which were taken for offerings to the goddess (*ἀπαρχαί*) one mina out of every talent; that is to say, one sixtieth of the entire sum. The thirty officers called *logistai* had charge of these accounts, and inscribed them on upright stone tablets which remain to us, an almost unbroken series from the Olympiad 81, 3 (454–453 B. C.), the time when the Delian treasure was transferred to Athens, until the Olympiad 89, 4 (421–420). The fragment given above is engraved at the top of the first of these tablets. It reads as follows: Αἶδε τῶν φόρων τῶν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλληνοταμιῶν οἷς . . . ἐγραμμάτευε, ὑπὸ τριάκοντα ἀπεφάνθησαν ἀπαρχαὶ τῇ θεῇ ἐπὶ Ἀρίστωνος ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίους, μνᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάντου. “Here are levied from the tributes in the hands of the Hellenotamiai, whose secretary was . . . , the offerings to the goddess which have been declared by the Thirty, under the archonship of Ariston, at the rate of a mina per talent.” Then follow, grouped according to regions, the name of the tributary allies. In the second column we read: Μαρωνῖται ΗΓ; and the third column, Ἀβδηρίται ΧΗΗΓΔΔΔΠ. Multiplying these figures by 60, we have the total amount of the tribute paid by each of these cities. Thus the sixtieth of the tribute of Maroneia being 150 drachmas, its total will be at that time 9,000 drachmas; that is, one talent, 3,106 drachmas. Upon these lists see Köhler’s work, *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des delisch-attischen Bundes*, in the *Abhandl. der königl. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1869), 211 pages. On this subject of the allies’ tribute, see later, Chapter XIX.

returned to the Hellespont, and made the conquest of Byzantion, where were many Persian nobles and a great store of treasure.

His success and fame had turned the head of Pausanias. He could not endure the idea that the conqueror of the Persians should remain a modest king of Sparta, narrowly watched and restrained by the ephors. His great share in the spoils of Plataia had but whetted his appetite for wealth. His captives initiated him into the manners of the Persian court; they related to him how the Persian nobles lived, described to him their luxury, their amusements, their power over all below them; and the seductive picture, contrasted with the rigid laws of Sparta, quite unsettled this vain and feeble mind. Among his prisoners was an Eretrian who, for some inconsiderable treachery to Greece, had received from Darius four large cities of Aiolis. What would not the Great King give to the man who should betray all Hellas to him? From that time Pausanias abandoned himself to the most extravagant hopes. By aid of prisoners whom he allowed to escape he entered into secret relations with Xerxes; he asked for the daughter of the Persian king, promising, as a wedding gift, the submission of Lacedæmon. And as if he were already the son-in-law of the Great King, he laid aside the Greek attire, assumed the Persian robe, exhibited an Asiatic magnificence for which Persian gold paid, and surrounded himself with a guard of Medes and Egyptians. Soon forgetting that those whom he commanded were freemen, and not slaves, he treated the allies with the arrogance of a satrap. These soon reminded him of it. The Aiginetans and the Peloponnesians returned home; the rest, refusing longer to obey Pausanias, placed themselves under Aristides and Kimon. The moderation of these two leaders had brought about this revolution quite as much as the violence of Pausanias (477 B. C.).

It was indeed a revolution. Vainly did Sparta recall Pausanias in all haste and substitute another chief; the allies persisted in their determination. The maritime supremacy passed from Sparta to Athens; the Hellenic body was divided, the nation henceforth had two heads,—a fortunate division, because it was in accordance with the nature of things. But will there not some day spring forth from this a terrible war? Even now, at Sparta men

had already begun to speak of an armed attempt to recover that supremacy which Athens herself had often before conceded to the Spartans. But at this very time the second king, Leotychides, the conqueror at Mykale, being sent into Thessaly to drive thence the Aleuadaï and the other allies of Xerxes, had accepted Persian gold. The senate at Sparta were horrified at this corruption coming in on all sides upon the city of Lykourgos, and one of them set forth the dangers of sending Spartan soldiers so far from home into the midst of Asiatic dangers and temptations, and mentioned Pausanias as an example. Sparta was not destined to show at all times this wisdom.

Aristeides personally had great power in influencing the action of the allies. Bringing forward again the idea which he had had at Plataia, of a permanent league against the common foe, he now obtained its adoption. By unanimous consent he was intrusted with the duty of preparing the terms of this alliance, and fixing the obligations of the confederates. It was agreed that the Greeks of Asia and the islands should form a league whose interests would be discussed by a general assembly; that Athens should have the direction of military operations, each city retaining complete independence as to its interior government, and furnishing to the common cause men, vessels, and money, according to a schedule approved by the assembly. This schedule was drawn up by him who was not merely the most upright Athenian, but the most upright of all the Greek nation. In order to prepare it with perfect equity, Aristeides visited all the cities, on the islands as well as on the mainland, and investigated the strength and the resources of each. The annual assessment, which perhaps like the share of spoils offered to the gods after a victory, was a tithe,² amounted to four hundred and sixty talents [nearly 600,000 dol-

TETRADRACHM.¹

¹ Reverse of an Athenian tetradrachm, signed by the following magistrates: ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩ[ρος], ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑ[νής]. As symbol at the side of the owl is Apollo, holding in his right hand statues of the three Graces on a single base, and in his left hand a bow; on each side a small griffin. (On the subject of this explanation see Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, pp. 364 et seq., and Furtwängler, in the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1882, p. 332.)

² Thasos had a revenue of three hundred talents (Herod., vi. 46), and gave fifty, as also did Paros. The former owed its wealth to its gold mines, the latter to its marble quarries.

lars],—a large sum, and a proof that the Greeks of the Ægæan Sea willingly bore their share.

Delos had been from all time the sanctuary of the Ionian race, who, like the Dorians, had chosen Apollo for their great divinity. Thucydides¹ describes the ancient assemblage of Ionians in this island, their festivals, their games, the contests of musicians and athletes, in the presence of deputies sent from every city. “O Phoibos,” says the Homeric Hymn, “thou art chiefly delighted in heart at Delos. There the long-trained Ionians are assembled in honor of thee, with their children and respected wives.” Athens, striving to restore to these festivals their ancient splendor, made the sacred island the centre of the Hellenic confederation. At the festival of Apollo the deputies assembled, in the treasury of his temple the common contribution was deposited. The god’s protection was over the alliance, and made it sacred. Aristides was elected guardian of this treasure, and administered his office with such probity that after his death the allies would have none but an Athenian in his place. Thus even after his death his integrity still did service to his country.

II.—DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AT ATHENS; ARISTIDES, THEMISTOKLES, AND PAUSANIAS.

It is said that Themistokles changed the position of the bema, so that the orators could at any time point out to the people the sea lying at their feet as a part of their domain. It was in this direction that he now turned his attention and devoted his strength. He had been successful,—Athens had now a war fleet and a merchant fleet, and commerce and the industrial arts occupied a large part of her population; but he had given such importance to Peiraieus²

¹ ii. 104.

² See page 521 for a view of Peiraieus, taken from a photograph. The entrance to the harbor, one hundred and sixty feet wide, is indicated by the two pillars at the extremities of the two ancient moles. In the background is the commercial harbor (ἐμπορίον); the naval harbor (τὰ νεώρια) occupied at the right the basin called Kantharos. The Akropolis, with the ruins of the Parthenon, is seen in the distance between Mount Anchesmos at the left, and the hill of the Mousaieon at the right. The high mountains on the horizon are, at the left, Parnes and Aigaleos; at the right, Pentelikos and Hymettos.

that, according to the expression of Aristophanes, he brought together into one the city and the sea-port: the latter was predominant over the former; for when the crowd of sailors came up into the agora, the preponderance of the popular element was secured. Aristеides, more reserved, more considerate of the old families and of the interests of land-owners, inclined, however, in later

HARVEST OF OLIVES.¹WOMEN POUNDING CORN.²

life towards democracy, making all public offices, even that of archon, accessible to all citizens.³ Thus were abolished the privileges understood to belong to land-ownership, and a further attack was made on the constitution of Solon. But this constitution, now more than a century old, could not remain unchanged when around it all things had suffered alteration. If Solon had lived in the time of Aristеides he would have followed the same course which Aristеides followed. Why should a few olive-groves in Attika, or lands in Thrace, give a right of command over these

¹ Painting on a vase in the Museum of Berlin (A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 1855), from O. Jahn, *Berichte über die Verhandl. der kön. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Leipzig*, (1867), pl. iii. 1. Two peasants, clad in goat-skins, are employed in knocking off olives, which a third is picking up. (Cf. vase-painting on p. 300.)

² Vase-painting, from O. Jahn, *Ibid.*, pl. i. 4. Two women, with pestles (*ῥπερος*), are pounding corn in a mortar (*ᾠλυος*); one has taken up a handful to examine it. Andromache, on a vase which has been represented in Vol. I. p. 401, defends herself with a pestle of this shape.

³ Plutarch says (in *Aristеides*, chap. 22): *κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν*.

twenty thousand citizens, who themselves ruled over a part of Greece and the islands? Moreover, a recompense was due to this proud democracy; it well deserved to share in political rights, since it had shared in devotion and sacrifices for the country. The distinctions formerly established between the different classes were therefore effaced. The *thetes* of the fourth class could aspire to any office; but they were now subjected to the taxes from which Solon had released them.

Thus the Median wars had definitively secured to Athens that democratic government which Herodotos never ceases to admire. "A popular government bears the fairest name of all,—equality of rights; the magistrate obtains his office by lot, and exercises it under responsibility, and refers all plans to the public."¹

A fact not sufficiently noted, which reduces to nothing many foolish accusations, is that which Strabo attests. After the Median



BRONZE.²

war, he says, it was the general tendency throughout Greece to unite separate villages into one city. Elis, Thebes, Argos, Mantinea, Phigalia, destroyed the towns and villages in their neighborhood, and compelled the inhabitants to reside in the capital.

This change almost everywhere brought about a political revolution. The direction of common affairs, hitherto abandoned to a few dwellers in the fortress city, now fell into the hands of the people, who had become an habitual visitant in the agora, and a democratic government prevailed at Argos and at Mantinea as at Athens, whose allies the two cities now became, serving her as points of support in the Peloponnesos against aristocratic Sparta.

But Athens still had the Eupatrids, and her commerce was soon to give her a moneyed class; these two formed another aristocracy, who rivalled in influence the popular orators, and were to be a check upon the democracy in that brilliant career upon which they entered under the leadership of Kimon and Perikles. In every community which is alive, that is to say, which is in a

¹ Herodotos, iii. 80. See also the speech of Perikles in Thucydides, ii. 35–46, and ii. 60–64; also the discourse of Nikias, the aristocratic leader, vii. 61–69, and Chapter XIX. of this work.

² Legend: ΦΙΑΛΕΩΝ. The Neda, personified, seated on a rock, with reverted head. The river holds in one hand a tall marine plant, and in the other a kantharis, from which she is pouring water. (Reverse of a Phigalian bronze coin with the effigy of the Empress Plautilla.)



VIEW OF PEIRÆIUS.

condition of development, there is needed, as there is for the individual, some restraint to keep down the pace, which would otherwise become headlong. This restraint Athens had during a few generations, while Rome had it for centuries. The greatness of each was due to that struggle between the aristocratic and the popular factions,—the former modifying the latter, but neither strong enough to destroy its rival and ruin itself by its own excesses.

The history of Herodotos ends with the siege of Sestos, and from that time on we are without facts as to the later lives of Aristekides and Themistokles. We know not even with certainty the period, place, or circumstances of their death. Our ignorance is great especially as to that which concerns Aristekides. We know only that he was so

LEADEN TESSERA.¹

poor, after having long administered the richest finances of Greece, that the State was obliged to defray the expenses of his funeral, and to give marriage portions to his daughters. A monument erected by the State consecrated his memory, and his descendants for many generations received a pension from the public treasury.

Themistokles was less fortunate. He made the mistake of too often reminding his fellow-citizens that he had saved them; the temple that he erected to the goddess of Good Counsel, and in which he placed his own statue, seemed to aim at immortalizing his reproach of them. His rapacity also excited ill-will. He had engaged in business with a fortune of three talents; a part of his property, that which his friends were not able to secure and send to him in Asia, brought into the treasury eighty, or, as some say, a hundred talents. He did not understand that probity in public affairs was anything more than the honesty of the strong-box.

¹ The Athenian Demos personified. A leaden tessera from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. viii. pl. 32, No. 85 (cf. *Annali*, 1868, pp. 273, 305, and 314; and O. Benndorf, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des attischen Theaters*, in the *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*, vol. xxvi., 1875, p. 601). On the obverse, laurelled and bearded head of Demos; on the reverse, the three Graces, holding each other by the hand, and the inscription, ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ. This tessera is a σύμβολον ἐκκλησιαστικόν, a ticket showing that the holder had been present at the assembly, and was exchanged by him for his fee, the triobolon. For the personification of the Athenian Demos, see Vol. I. p. 549, and p. 43 of this volume; for the representation of the Athenian Graces (*Charites*), see above, p. 95. The Athenian Demos was worshipped at Athens in the same temple with the Charites. In respect to this cult, see the article by B. Haussoullier in the *Dictionnaire des antiq. grecques et romaines*, at the word *Démos*.

which gives back with fidelity that which has been intrusted to it; and one day, in speaking of the virtues of a military commander, he drew upon himself the severe answer of Aristekides: "You forget one; it is to have clean hands." Themistokles had them not. Plutarch has preserved to us some lines by the Rhodian Timokreon, who lived long at Athens, where he was for a time the guest-friend of Themistokles. The poet accused Themistokles of being faithless towards him; whether this is so or not, we cannot tell, but the vindictive poetry remains:—

"Praise, if you will, Pausanias, Xanthippos, and Leotychides; I praise Aristekides, the most virtuous man who was ever born in Athens, the great city. But Themistokles, the false and treacherous, is hated by Leto. He has sold himself for a contemptible bribe, and refused to restore Timokreon to Salysos, his native land. For three talents he recalls some from exile, and banishes others, and puts still others to death. Glutted with wealth, he insolently displays his gold at the games which Hellas celebrates. Then with what meanness he entertains his guests!"¹

It is just to add that this Rhodian was a notorious calumniator. Simonides of Keos gave him this epitaph: "I who lie here, Timokreon of Rhodes, have eaten well, drunk well, and said much evil of others."

The rumors current in respect to the conqueror of Salamis at last found their echo in the crowd, and raised against him a storm of public indignation. He suffered the penalty of ostracism, which he had earlier caused to be inflicted upon Aristekides. "Like a broad-leaved plane-tree," he said, "under which men seek shelter in the storm, and whose branches they cut away afterwards when the weather is fair, I see the Athenians hasten to me when danger threatens, and drive me from the country on the return of peace." He withdrew to Argos, which welcomed him as the enemy of Sparta (470 B. C.). Being accused of complicity with Pausanias, he was later obliged to escape to Persia.

Pausanias, being called home by his offended fellow-citizens, after a time escaped from Sparta and returned to Byzantion, to negotiate to better advantage with Artabazos, satrap of Bithynia, who acted as the agent of Xerxes in this matter. Sparta again recalled her treacherous citizen; and counting upon his wealth to

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Themistokles*, 26.

protect him, he dared to return, knowing that the ancient virtue of Sparta was greatly shaken. Venality, that fatal pest with which the Persians inoculated Greece, showed itself audaciously there. However, on his arrival he was thrown into prison; the case not being proved against him, he obtained his liberty, and more boldly than ever continued his intrigues. He was detected in an attempt to incite the Helots to revolt, that he might overthrow the ephors and gain absolute power. But the testimony of slaves against a Spartan could not be received. Shortly, proofs from his own hand were furnished. One of the messengers whom he despatched to Artabazos, bethinking himself that no preceding messenger had ever returned to Greece,

BRONZE COIN.¹

opened the letter which had been given him to carry, and found among its contents the request that the bearer should be put to death. Upon this he delivered the letter to the ephors. They directed him to take shelter in a temple, as he dreaded the anger of Pausanias, who, soon notified, hastened thither to inquire into the cause of his messenger's conduct. The conversation, which was damaging to Pausanias, was overheard by some of the ephors, concealed for the purpose in the temple. He was about to be arrested on his return to Sparta; but suspecting his danger, he took shelter in a building attached to the temple of Athene Chalkioikos. As the ephors could not forcibly remove him, they walled up the door of the small building where he was, and left him there to die of hunger; and it is said that his aged mother was one of those who brought stones for the purpose. When he was at the point of death, the ephors removed him, that he might not pollute the holy place by his dead body (467 B. C.). The illegality was flagrant, since there had been no trial; but there can be no doubt that he who suffered death was a criminal.

Pausanias had made overtures to Themistokles; but the Athenian was too sagacious to ally himself with such a madman. Traces of intercourse between the two were, however, discovered, and the Spartans hastened to accuse, at Athens, Themistokles of the

¹ Helmeted head of Pallas, left profile. Reverse: MOΛΟΣΣΩΝ. Eagle, looking left. *In genere.* (Coin of the Molossians.)

crime of treason. The Athenians sent officers to arrest him, upon which he fled from Argos to Korkyros, which owed to him her possession of Leukadia; the Korkyreans feared to shelter him, and took him back to the mainland. Pursued closely, he found himself in the territory of Admetos, king of the Molossians. This king had some old hostility against Themistokles, and the exiled Athenian hesitated to claim shelter. But the wife of Admetos assured him



VIEW OF A GATE OF THE AKROPOLIS AT MYKENAI.¹

that he would be safe on the return of her husband, who chanced to be absent, if he would take the child of Admetos in his arms and seat himself on their hearthstone as a suppliant. The appeal was successful. The Molossian king refused to surrender the fugi-

¹ From a photograph. Compare with it the Gate of the Lions, Vol. I. p. 179.

NOTE. — On the opposite page are represented fragments of a frieze from the temple of Artemis at Magnesia on the Maiandros. The subject is one often handled by ancient sculptors, — the war between the Greeks and the Amazons. It is not certain that these bas-reliefs are of the Greek epoch. (Museum of the Louvre.)



FRAGMENTS OF A FRIEZE FROM THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT MAGNESIA.

tive, and shortly after found him an opportunity to go to Pydna in Macedon, whence he embarked for Ionia. Encountering a heavy storm, they came near the Athenian fleet, which was blockading Naxos. The master of the vessel wished to seek a harbor on the island; but Themistokles, acknowledging his name to the man, was able to induce him to risk the storm for a day and night, rather than by landing throw the fugitive into the hands of his enemies.

On reaching Ephesos, where money awaited him, sent by his friends at Athens, he liberally rewarded the captain; and then, advancing boldly to the royal palace, presented himself to the king. Xerxes had recently died (465 B. C.); and his son, Artaxerxes I., received the Athenian general favorably. Themistokles made known to the Persian king his present intention of being as serviceable to the foes of Athens as he had formerly been harmful to them; but before revealing his designs he begged to be allowed a year, in which to study the Persian language, so that he could unfold his plans without having recourse to an interpreter. Artaxerxes granted him three cities of Asia Minor,—one to furnish bread, another meat, and the third wine for his table.² Many rumors were current as to the manner of his death, which took place within the year. According to Diodoros, he poisoned himself, that he might escape the fulfilment of his promise to take arms against his own country. This, if it were true, would be an expiation making us forget his many crimes. But more probable is the story of Thucydides, which represents him as dying of some disease. His bones, it is said, were brought back to Athens. His tomb at Peiræus was shown, but it was perhaps only a cenotaph.

MAGNESIAN COIN.¹

¹ Apollo, standing, to the right, the chlamys on his shoulders, leaning with the left hand on a tall olive-branch. Legend: ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ. Reverse: a bird, probably a crow, the wings displayed. Legend: the letters MA, initials of the word Magnesia. (Silver.) Unique coin of the Collection de Luynes (see Waddington, *Mélanges de numismatique*, 1861, p. 1).

² These gifts were large, for one of these cities, Magnesia, gave him instead of bread fifty talents for the year (Thucydides, i.). This same city built him a splendid funereal monument. Demaratos Metiochos, the son of Miltiades (Herodotos, vi. 41), and Gongylos of Eretria (Xenophon, *Hellen.*, iii. 1, 6), had received a like gift. The Ionian temple of Artemis Leukophryne at Magnesia was one of the finest in Asia Minor.

We have now ended the story of the great war. The men of that heroic period have passed away. Other times are beginning. Soon the sons of those who conquered at Plataia and Thermopylai will not hesitate at taking up in a fratricidal war the weapons of their fathers, stained with the blood of Asiatics.



TIRYNS AND THE MOUNTAINS OF MYKENAI.¹

Two old and famous cities disappeared also at this time,—Mykenai and Tiryns. They were destroyed by the Argives; and there remain of them only the Homeric memories, some imposing ruins,² and many curious objects found in the recent excavations.

III. — KIMON.

KIMON, the son of Miltiades, by his exploits and his policy belongs to the first epoch,—that of the heroes of the war of independence. He had neither eloquence nor any of those qualities which made a man popular at Athens. His life was disorderly,

¹ From a photograph. The view is taken from the akropolis of Tiryns, from the east-north-east.

² Diodoros, xii. 66.

but he was beloved on account of his resolute and cheerful character. The promptness with which he had supported Themistokles at the time of the Persian invasion, and the valor he displayed at Salamis, had rendered him famous; accordingly, when Aristides,



COIN OF EION.¹

to maintain a balance in public affairs, urged him upon the political stage and opposed him to the too democratic influence of Themistokles, he was favorably received. He appears to have supported the decree which

banished the victor of Salamis. Plutarch even accuses him of having secured the condemnation to death of a man who brought secretly the wife and children of Themistokles to the exiled general. But the shame of these acts of ingratitude should fall not so much on the Athenian people as upon its leaders, who represented to the people by turns, and with the same reasons in each case, that the exile or death of her greatest citizens was necessary to their repose or to their liberty. To-day, political parties out of power are in the opposition; in Athens when they went out of power they received sentence of exile.



COIN OF BOGES (?).²

His lack of eloquence denied to Kimon successes in the popular assembly. He sought others in the vast field which the sea opened to the Athenians, and grasped the opportunity of serving the national cause of all the Hellenes, and the particular interests of his country. In 476 B.C. he began his career with two very popular expeditions. In Thrace, he took Eion, whose commandant, the Persian Boges, rather than surrender, set it on fire and perished in the flames with his wife and children, his slaves, and all his treasure. By this conquest he gave his country lands which could be distributed among the poor, and an important military position at the mouths of the Strymon. By the capture of the

¹ Two geese, one holding a snake in its beak; between them the letter Θ. Reverse, incused square. (Silver.)

² Cow suckling her calf; in the field a monogram in Aramaic letters, beginning with the letter ʾ, initial of the name of Boges. The whole in a beaded square. Reverse: Herakles with bow and quiver, holding by the tail a lion which he is beating with his club. (Silver.) The coin perhaps should be attributed to another satrap, by name Bahana.

Island of Skyros he drove from the sea the pirates who had been lately put under the ban of the Amphiktyonic Council, and the colony that Athens founded here became the first ring in the long chain of her establishments in the northern part of the Ægæan Sea. At Skyros, Kimon claimed to have found the bones of Theseus (469 B.C.). He had seen an eagle, he said, the bird of Zeus, tearing up the earth with its powerful claws in the place where



FRAGMENTS OF THE FRIEZE OF THE THESEION.¹

the bones were found; this was enough, and would always be enough, to convince the public credulity. The Athenians received the relics of the hero amid solemn public rejoicings, and deposited them in a temple thenceforth consecrated as an inviolable asylum, in memory of him whose entire life had been employed, it was said, in the defence of the unfortunate. On this occasion there was a contest for the prize of poetry, and the youthful Sophokles was victorious over Aischylos.

¹ From Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, 3d edition, vol. i. p. 348, fig. 77. These fragments were part of the western frieze; the artist has represented the contest between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. In the upper fragment at the right may be recognized the king of the Lapiths, attacked by two Centaurs; the king is on his knees, defending himself with his shield; the two Centaurs are trying to crush him with a great rock. The same group occurs in the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Phigalea.

The Theseion, one hundred and five feet long and forty-six wide, the most ancient and best preserved of all the Athenian



CUP OF EUPHRONIOS.¹

temples, was built in the centre of the city, near the place devoted to the gymnastic exercises of the Athenian youth. It resembles

¹ This cup was acquired in 1871 by the Museum of the Louvre. (Cf. *Annuaire de la Société pour l'encouragement des Études grecques*, 1872, p. 453; J. de Witte, in the *Monum. publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques*, 1872, pl. i. and ii.; W. Klein, *Euphronios*, 2d edition, 1886, pp. 182 et seq.) On the bottom of the cup is represented Amphitrite welcoming Theseus. The scene occurs amid the waves, as is indicated by the three dolphins leaping behind the young hero (ΘΗΣΕΥΣ) who emerges from the waves, borne on the hands and head of Triton (ΤΡΙΤΟΝ); Amphitrite (ΑΜΦΙΤΡΙΤΗ), sitting on a richly adorned seat, extends her hand to Theseus, who on his part responds to the friendly gesture. Athene (ΑΘΕΝΑΙ[Α]), standing, and fully armed, holding an owl on her right hand, accompanies the hero. Behind Theseus is the painter's signature, Εὐφρό[νιος ἐ]ποίη.

the Parthenon, being of the Doric order and very elegant design, but is much smaller and, hence, less impressive than the temple of Athene. Nor had it masterpieces of art like those with which the Parthenon was decorated, except only beautiful paintings, the work of Polygnotos and Mikon. The beautiful cup of Euphronios perhaps gives us the subject of one of these paintings.

COIN OF KARYSTOS.¹

Thus Athens went on gloriously with her struggle against Persia, and secured the sea from pirates. The consciousness of her services rendered her harsh towards the allies who delayed their contribution or contingent of war. Two cities were severely dealt with,—Karystos, in Euboia, and the wealthy city of Naxos were taken after a long siege, and remained subject to Athens (467 B. C.).

COIN OF NAXOS.²COIN OF A LYKIAN DYNASTY.³

The event was of importance; it announced that Athens, using a legitimate right, would permit no allied city to withdraw from the confederation, nor any member of the league to neglect the common obligations, while enjoying the security acquired at the expense of all. This was just. The allies themselves understood it to be so, and Athens in this war had done nothing more than execute the orders of the assembly at Delos. The only claim that the allies made was to be permitted to substitute an increased tribute in place of the men and vessels they had furnished up to that time. Kimon readily agreed to a change which by disarming the allies gave to his own State the supremacy upon the seas.

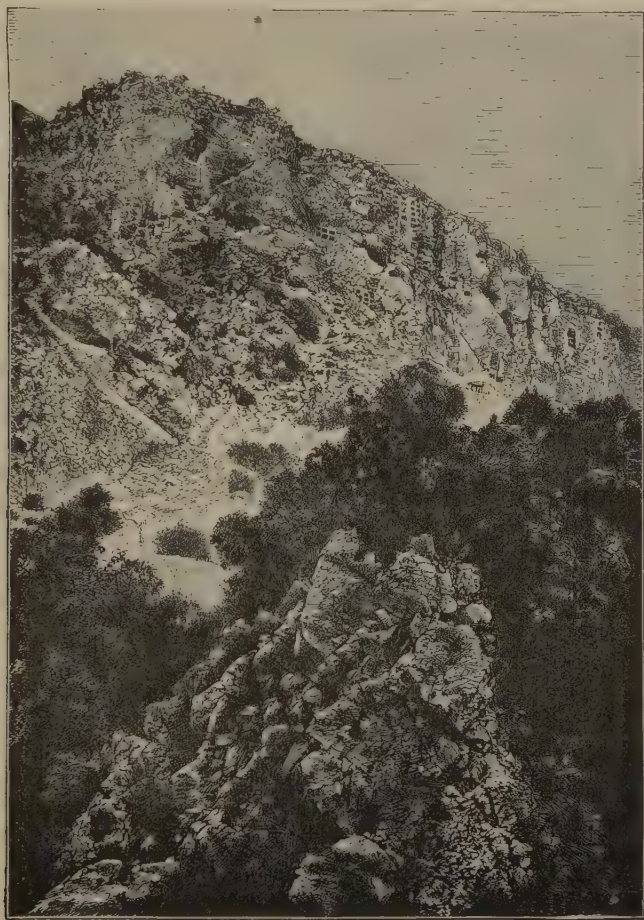
Nor was it an idle royalty that Athens wielded. The very year of the taking of Naxos, and as if to efface the memory of

¹ Head of Poseidon, right profile. Reverse: ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΩΝ. Trident, around which is curled a dolphin. (Bronze.)

² Head of Dionysos, with ivy wreath; right profile. Reverse: ΝΑΞΙ. Dionysiac kantharis; a thyrsos on each side of it. (Bronze.)

³ Griffin. Reverse: Κ . . . ΛΕ. Triquetra. The whole in an incused square. (Silver coin of Kuperlis, dynasty of Xanthos, from 440 to 400 B. C.)

that sad victory, Kimon armed two hundred Athenian galleys; the allies gave him a hundred; and with this fleet he sailed to Karia and Lykia, aroused all the Greek cities of those two provinces, and drove out Persian garrisons wherever he found them



LYKIAN TOMBS.¹

established. Two hundred hostile vessels were off the mouths of the Eurymedon in Pamphylia, awaiting a reinforcement of eighty Phœnician triremes. Kimon prevented their meeting, and took or sank all the fleet. He disembarked at once on the adjacent shore, where a numerous army were encamped, disguised some of his soldiers in the dress of the prisoners he had taken, by this ruse

¹ Lykian tombs, hewn in the rock at Pinara. From O. Benndorf and G. Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, vol. i. (1884) Taf. 18.

surprised the enemy, killed or dispersed them, and had time then to sail out to meet the eighty Phœnician vessels, all of which he destroyed (465 B. C.). On the tripod which Athens consecrated with a bronze palm-tree in the temple of Apollo at Delos were these words: "The sea which separates Europe from Asia never saw an exploit like this before. Those who consecrate this tripod have been victorious twice in a single day by land and by sea. Twice Asia has groaned under their blows."

This great success emboldened Kimon to resume his designs upon Thrace. The Persians occupied many posts in this region,

and he drove them out of all, with the exception of Doriskos, which he could not take. An important affair then drew his attention elsewhere. Athens had quickly recognized the importance of her acquisitions at the mouths of the Strymon.

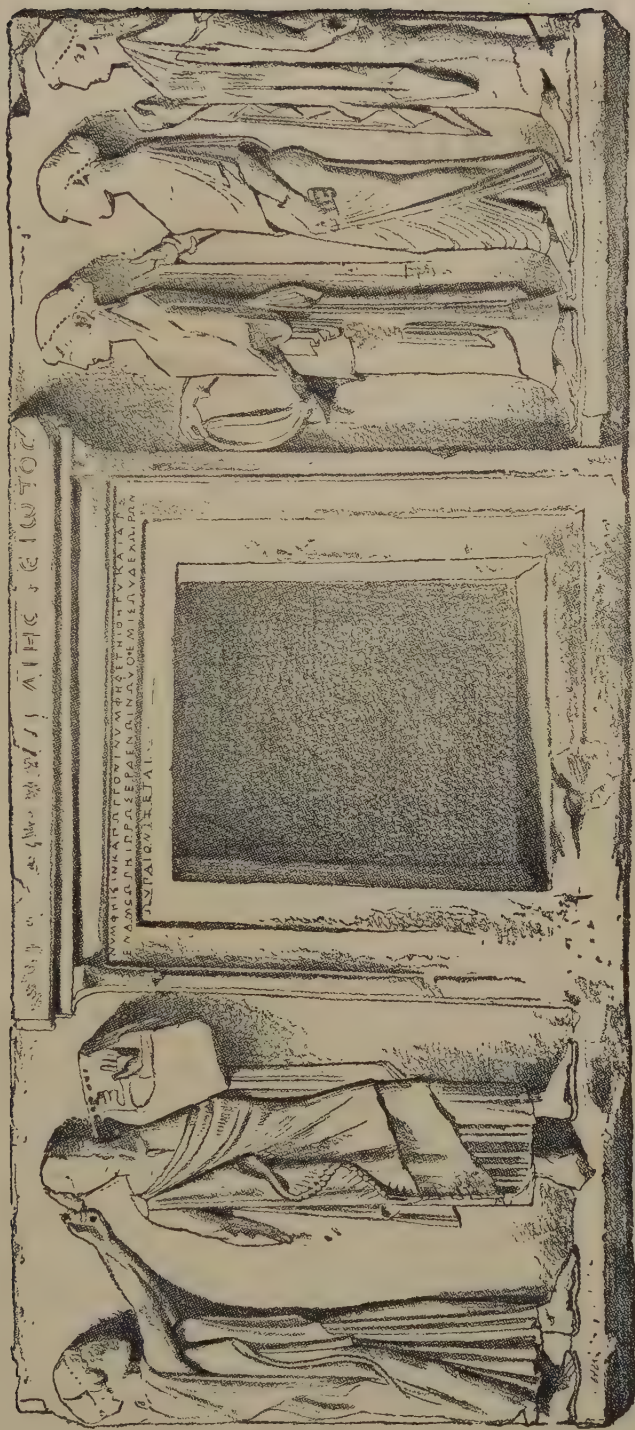


DRACHMA OF MESSENIA.¹

There were fertile lands, building-woods, tar, and all things necessary for vessels. By way of the river there was access to the interior of Macedon, and useful relations could be established with the Barbarians; and, finally, in the neighborhood were the celebrated mines of Mount Pangaios. Accordingly, numerous colonists from

¹ Head of Demeter, crowned with wheat-ears, left profile. Reverse: ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ. Zeus Ithomatas, standing, hurling the thunderbolt with his right hand, and extending the left, on which stands an eagle.

NOTE. — On pp. 537 and 541 are represented archaic bas-reliefs, discovered in 1864 at Thasos by Miller, and now in the Museum of the Louvre. In the bas-relief of p. 537, at the right and left of a door, to which their steps seem to be directed, are five figures; on the left Apollo, holding in his left hand a lyre, which had metal strings; next him, a nymph, who is about to place a wreath on his head; on the right, three nymphs. The inscription engraved on the lintel of the door gives names to these figures: Νύμφησιον ἀπόλλωνι νυμφηγέτη θῆλυ καὶ ἄρσεν ἅμ βούληι προσέρδεν. "Οἶν οὐ θέμις οὐδέο χοῖρον. Οὐ παιωνίζεται: that is to say, "To the Nymphs and Apollo Nymphegetes, sacrifice whatever victims you please, male or female. Sheep and swine are prohibited. No pæan shall be sung." On the two smaller plaques (p. 541) we have in the lower one three female figures moving to the right; they resemble the nymphs of the principal bas-relief; in both, the figures wear bracelets, have a wreath or garland in the hand, and a wreath on the head. Those of the smaller bas-relief are therefore evidently nymphs. In the other fragment there is a figure of Hermes, wearing the conical pilos; he extends his right arm, and with his left hand holds the caduceus, which had originally metal serpents twined about it. Behind him advances a figure holding a garland. The inscription engraved on the plinth under the feet of Hermes tells us that this second figure is one of the Charites, or Graces. On a corresponding plaque, which has not been found, were doubtless the other two Graces. These marbles, which, according to the hypothesis of Rayet, decorated the outside of some monumental altar situated in the open air in front of a temple, are among the most precious remains of Greek sculpture of the first half of the fifth century before Christ.



BAS-RELIEF OF THASOS: APOLLO AND THE NYMPHS.

Attika and the allied States were established at the Nine Ways, above Eion. Athens especially coveted the mines belonging to the inhabitants of Thasos. She claimed them as being a part of the territory that she had taken from the Persians, and on the refusal of the Thasians she instructed Kimon to attack their island. After a victory at sea he laid siege to their capital. The city held out for three years. When the Thasians implored aid from the Lacedæmonians, who saw with increasing jealousy the fame and power of Athens, assistance was readily promised them; but a frightful calamity prevented the fulfilment of the pledge. An earthquake which shook all Lakonia destroyed twenty thousand persons, and at Sparta only six houses were left standing (464 B. C.).

At news of this disaster the Helots and Messenians, revolting, marched upon Sparta. The king, Archidamos, had apprehended this outbreak, and in all haste called the citizens to arms. His firm attitude saved the State amid the ruins of the city. The Helots, terror-stricken at the idea of having dared to face their masters, dispersed. The bravest of them withdrew with the Messenians to Mount Ithome, where they intrenched themselves, and the Third Messenian War began (464 B. C.). It lasted ten years, —not without glory to the rebels, for more than one spot made famous by Aristomenes received a new consecration. On one occasion, in the fields of Stenyklaros, they defeated a Spartan corps, who left three hundred dead on the battle-field, among them that Alimnestos who had killed Mardonios at Plataia.

The Thasians were therefore left to themselves, and were obliged to surrender and accept harsh terms; namely, to dismantle their city of its walls, to give up their vessels, their gold mines of Skaptê-Hylê (the Hollow Wood), and their possessions on the mainland; also to pay a heavy fine and an annual tribute (443 B. C.). As part of the spoils of war, Kimon brought to Athens Polygnotos, a great painter. During this war the Thracian colonists of the Nine Ways, surprised by the Thracians in an expedition into the interior of the country, had been exterminated. Kimon was directed to avenge them. Doubtless he had not the means to do it, for he did not give satisfaction to the national honor. There was great displeasure against Kimon, and

it was said that he had taken a bribe from the king of Macedon, who did not like Athenian colonies in his neighborhood; on being tried, he was, according to some reports, acquitted; according to others, condemned to a fine of fifty talents.



OFFERING TO ATHENE POLIAS.¹

He had not relied upon his victories to make sure his popularity. His patrimony and the wealth he had gained in war seemed to belong to his fellow-citizens rather than to himself. He ornamented the city with trees and statues, built one of the ramparts of the citadel, and a portion of the Long Walls pro-

¹ Bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre (cf. Clarac, *Mus. de sculpt.*, vol. ii. 1st part, No. 255, p. 692). In the centre, on a plinth around which a serpent is entwined, stands the image of Athene Polias; behind the pillar is a shield. At the right, in a grave attitude, stands a warrior completely armed; in his right hand he carries a palm-branch which he is about to offer to the goddess. The figure on the left gives the meaning of the scene,—the goddess of Victory approaches the statue of Athene, holding in one hand a patera, and in the other an *aphlaston*, ornament of the stern. The offering is thus shown to have been made on occasion of a naval victory. (Cf. O. Iahn, *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris atticis*, pl. ii. 3, and p. 15.) As to the name of the victorious warrior, in whom some have proposed to recognize Themistokles or Kimon, there can be no certainty.



BAS-RELIEFS OF THASOS: HERMES AND THE CHARITES.

See note, p. 536.

jected by Themistokles; he levelled his garden walls, and opened the grounds to the public; daily he made all citizens of his demos welcome at his table, and never went into the street without being followed by a slave, to distribute silver and garments to those who begged,—all this through benevolence, no doubt; but also in the interests of the party whose leader he was.

Popularity, however, escaped him. The poor understood that these largesses were his payment for the honors that, by their



MAP OF THE PORTS OF MEGARIS.

votes, they gave him. Men remembered that Peisistratos was accustomed to distribute to the poor the product of his gardens, and a new orator was gladly heard who declared that the State was too rich to leave to any private person the care of feeding its poor citizens. This new-comer was Perikles, the avenger of Themistokles, the man who carried out the projects of the great exile, and greater than he because always maintaining his own self-respect. Kimon, the ally of the Spartans in the suit against Themistokles, the admirer of their martial virtues and their stern discipline to the point that he gave to one of his sons the name

Lakedaimonios,¹ forgot that Athens was now too great to hear patiently the perpetual praise of a rival who was at heart an enemy. For twenty years Sparta had spitefully opposed the Athenians at every point. She endeavored to prevent them from rebuilding their walls; in her anger at losing the command of the allied fleet, and seeing formed without her a powerful league, of which Athens was at once the head and the arm, she had promised her alliance to the Thasians, and to save that people had meditated an invasion of Attika. The concord established by Aristides, and the oath taken at Plataia, had ceased to be in force, and the fault rested with those who assumed to make recognized by all Greece their burdensome and unprofitable supremacy. At the same time there was always in Athens a faction which, through hatred or fear of the democracy, were unmindful of the

BRONZE.²

affronts or menaces of Sparta, and who, to preserve their influence, needed the support of the aristocratic city whose government was the opposite of the Athenian form. The services of Kimon raised him above the need of having recourse to this support; but unfortunately his birth, his fortune, his spirit of command, strengthened by so much success, had made him the chief of that faction. Did he find occasion to criticise some proposed measure, he was sure to add: "It is not thus that affairs are managed at Sparta." Accordingly, when the Spartans, unable to capture Ithome, came to implore the assistance of Athens, "It is not fitting," Kimon said, "to leave Greece lame, and to deprive Athens of a useful counterpoise."

The Athenians were not much touched by this necessity of having a counterpoise. "Leave her there, buried under ruins," Ephialtes said, "and tread under foot the pride of Sparta." However, sentiments of honor and of magnanimity prevailed; Kimon was sent to Ithome with a large army. The siege not being promoted thereby, the Spartans suspected treachery; and while retaining the other allies, sent the Athenians home, under the pretext that they

¹ Kimon was the *proxenos* of Sparta, and received into his own house all her envoys.

² Coin of Megara. Artemis Agrotera, clothed in a long chiton, holding in the left hand a bow, and drawing an arrow from her quiver. Legend: ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ. Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Caracalla. The temple of Artemis Agrotera at Megara is mentioned by Pausanias (i. 41, 3).

had no further need of their assistance (461 B. C.). It was a cutting insult. Athens retaliated by making an alliance with Argos, who had just profited by the difficulties of Sparta to glut her ancient animosity against Mykenai.¹ The Thessalians entered into the same league; and some time later Megara, through hatred to Corinth, admitted an Athenian garrison into her walls, and into her seaport town, Pagai, on the Corinthian Gulf. The Athenians occupied the other port also, Nisaia, on the Saronic Gulf, and connected it with Megara, as Peiræus was connected with Athens, by two walls a mile long, of which they were the guardians.

These events were so many defeats for the friend of Sparta, and Kimon still further aroused the popular displeasure by opposing a measure which was designed to complete those of Aristides. The latter, by opening the public offices to the poorest citizens, gave them also admission to the Areiopagos; but the aristocracy, intrenched in that supreme council, made it a hotbed of opposition to the government. Ephialtes, a friend of Perikles, a man who had the poverty and the integrity of Aristides, and a gift of impetuous eloquence, made a proposal to take away from that venerated tribunal most of the cases of which it had had cognizance,—those mainly which it judged in virtue of the censorial powers which Solon had conferred upon it. Composed of life-members, who were irresponsible in the exercise of their authority, the Areiopagos was essentially, in the Athenian constitution, the conservative element,

¹ It has been supposed that the drama of the *Suppliants*, represented in 461 B. C., in which the Argives are commended for refusing to give up the daughters of Danaos to the Egyptians, was composed by Aischylos on this occasion. Three years later, in the *Eumenides*, he makes Orestes swear, on behalf of Argos, an eternal alliance between his country and Athens.

“O Pallas, thou who hast redeemed my house,
 . . . I now wend homeward, giving pledge
 To this thy country and its valiant host
 To stand as firm for henceforth and forever,
 That no man henceforth, chief of Argive land,
 Shall bring against it spearmen well equipped;
 For we ourselves, though in our sepulchres,
 On those who shall transgress these oaths of ours,
 Will with inextricable evils work,
 Making their paths disheartening, and their ways
 Ill-omened, that they may this toil repent.
 But if these oaths be kept, to those who honor
 This city of great Pallas, our ally,
 Then we to them are more propitious yet.”

Lines 724, and 732-744 (Dr. Plumptre's translation).

hostile to innovations.¹ Vainly did Aischylos, who was of the Eupatridai, plead for the Areiopagos in his tragedy of the *Eumenides*, where he showed Athene herself founding this tribunal,—the



THE EUMENIDES.²

incorruptible guardian of justice and of the laws;³ the proposition was accepted. The Areiopagos henceforth had cognizance only of cases of premeditated homicide (φόνος ἐκ προνοίας), of arson, and of poisoning. The penalties were death and the confiscation of prop-

¹ Hence Aristotle says: "In a democracy, it is the highest class which conspires" (*Pol.*, V. iii.). Until as late as 477 B. C., the Areiopagos had been made up of archons elected from the first three classes (see Vol. I. pp. 538 *et seq.*), but admitted to the Areiopagos only after investigation: . . . οἱ δοκιμασθέντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον (Plutarch, *Perikles*, 9). At this time must have been established the selection by lot.

² Relief on a great tripod-base in the Louvre, known as the Altar of the Twelve Gods (Fröhner *Notice de la sculpture ant.*, No. 1, p. 6). The three Eumenides, Alekto, Tisiphone, and Megaira, wear diadems, and hold in the right hand sceptres surmounted with a pomegranate. They wear long chitons and mantles; their attitude is grave and calm. The name which Fröhner gives to these three figures is, however, of uncertain application; other scholars call them the Moirai or Eileithyrai. For representations of the monument itself, see *History of Rome*, i. 677, 678.

³ *Eumenides*, lines 651–678 (Dr. Plumptre's translation).

erty (460 B. C.). "Kimon," says Plutarch, "could not restrain his indignation at seeing the dignity of the Areiopagos brought down. He made every effort to restore its jurisdiction, and re-es-



EXERCISES OF THE EPHEBOI.¹

tablish an aristocratic government." To what extent were these efforts carried? We do not know. The people put a stop to them by ostracism; Kimon was banished (459 B. C.).

¹ Vase-painting from Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, vol. iv. pt. 269-270. 1. Two epheboi are putting on their armor. The first, at the left, is attended by three persons, of whom one holds out to him with both hands his chlamys; the second gives him his greaves; the third, leaning on a staff, looks on. The second ephebos, on the right, is putting on his cuirass; a boy holds out to him the leather thongs. His shield is at his feet. Behind the first figure on the left is hung a bag. 2. In the centre a boy, almost entirely concealed behind a large shield, offers his helmet to a bearded man who is occupied in fastening on his baldrick. The second ephebos at the right is attaching a greave to the right leg.

Aischylos, who had supported him, feared a similar fate. He had already been brought before the Areiopagos, on the charge of having revealed on the stage mysteries forbidden to the profane, and he was about to be condemned, when Ameinias, his brother (?), lifting the poet's mantle, showed his arm, mutilated at Salamis, and asked from the judges his acquittal as a recompense. This time Aischylos exiled himself and withdrew into Sicily, where he had already been in the time of Hiero (about 476 B. C.).¹

The Areiopagos had been in Athens the moderating power, with right of veto against whatever measure might seem rash or dangerous. To preserve to the State this safeguard which reform took from it, it was decided that seven guardians of the laws, *nomophylakes*, chosen by lot every year from among the citizens, should oppose measures contrary to the constitution. They preserved the decrees of the popular assembly in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, and they wore on the head a white fillet, which consecrated them priests of the law.² The censorial powers of the Areiopagites passed to the *sophronistai* and the *gynai-konomoi*, who had charge of the *epheboi* in the gymnasium and of the women in the city,—that is to say, of public instruction and public morality (460 B. C.)

IV. — WARS AMONG THE GREEK STATES.

DOMESTIC difficulties had not slackened the efforts of Athens to extend or consolidate her power; never had she displayed greater activity. We have an inscription in which the tribe Erechtheis celebrated with the splendid simplicity of that day her warriors who had fallen during the year on the shores of Cyprus,

¹ See Chapter XX. of this work. He died at Gela in 455 B. C. On occasion of the first visit of Aischylos to Syracuse, the king had ordered the representation of the Trilogv to which belongs the *Persians*, and had himself been present. The chronology of the life of Aischylos offers inextricable difficulties.

² There is much uncertainty on the subject of the *nomophylakes*, their office being instituted as late as the time of Demetrius Phalereus, according to some; it is probable, however, that he only reorganized it. Cf. Starker, *De Nomophyl. Atheniensium* (1880). But it is not possible to reject what is said of this college by Philochoros, *Fragm. des Hist. grecs*, 141, Didot, i. 407.

Phoenicia, and Egypt, at Halia in Argolis, before Aigina and Megara.

Athens had undertaken the duty of expelling the Persians from the islands and shores of the Mediterranean, and she was never forgetful of this generous task. Two hundred galleys had been

HEMI-DRACHMA.¹

sent to Cyprus to expel thence what remained of Persian troops. Egypt, revolting under Inaros, called upon the Athenians; they hastened to the banks of the Nile and defeated an army, afterwards besieging those who had taken shelter in Memphis. Thus the example

of the Greeks encouraged enslaved nations to shake off their chains. The victories of Marathon and Salamis had not merely saved Hellas, they had undermined the great empire, which already trembled under the repeated blows it was receiving from the daring hand of the Athenians.

But though Athens carried her victorious arms into distant lands, from the summit of the Parthenon, across Salamis, she beheld islands and shores occupied by enemies, so that it behooved her to keep a part of her fleet at Peiræus, ready to ward off some unexpected blow which might be dealt by her adversaries. This was a matter of prudent forethought, for while the Athenian

BRONZE COIN.²

fleet of two hundred galleys and an army were in Egypt, a war broke out at the very gates of the city. Against Megara, the ally of Athens, who could bar against the Spartans the isthmus and the entrance into Attika, Corinth, Aigina, and Epidauros armed troops and ships. Repulsed in a descent on the territory of Epidauros, the Athenians were more fortunate in a sea-fight; they defeated the allied fleet, which lost seventy galleys, and besieged Aigina, their mortal enemy. The Aiginetans had made this law: "Any Athenian taken upon the soil of Aigina shall be put to death

¹ Hemi-drachma of Epidauros. Laurelled head of Asklepios, left profile. Reverse: in a laurel-wreath, a monogram, ΕΠ, — first two letters of the name Epidauros.

² ΦΟΚΕΩΝ. Three ox-heads, ornamented with fillets, the muzzles touching in the centre. Reverse: laurel-wreath with the letter Τ (ρίχαιον?). Coin of the Phokidians, *in genere*.

without trial, or shall be sold as a slave.”¹ To save the island, the Corinthians marched upon Megara. There remained at Athens



HERAKLES FIGHTING.²

only boys and old men; from this material, however, Myronides composed an army without depriving of a single soldier the corps

¹ Diogenes Laertes, iii. 19; Plutarch, Dion, v.

² From a cast. The hero, with the lion's skin on his head and a leather cuirass, kneels on one knee, drawing his bow. This was one of the figures in the pediment of the temple of

operating against the Aiginetans, fought twice with the enemy in the gorges of the isthmus, and inflicted upon him a heavy disaster (458 B. C.). The siege of Aigina lasted nine months: the city was dismantled; the inhabitants surrendered their remaining vessels, and promised tribute.

Thus Greece tore herself with her own hands, and a first war with the Peloponnesos began. Who should be held responsible for this? Doubtless all the cities, among which secular hatreds were fermenting, — Aigina and Athens, Corinth and Megara, Argos and Mykenai; Sparta especially, which gave the signal for this sacrilegious strife by her outrageous conduct towards the Athenians. At this very moment she was receiving from the alarmed Artaxerxes an agent who came to chaffer about the price of a Peloponnesian invasion of Attika, of which the Thasians had already received a promise. The war with Messenia still lasted, and "Sparta could do nothing outside."² She dared not at that moment attempt so serious an enterprise, but she kept the money for a better time. Perikles, apprehending the danger, hastened the completion of the Long Walls.³



FIGURINE OF TANAGRA.¹

In 457 B. C. the Spartans felt themselves strong enough to make an incursion into Central Greece. Under pretext of aiding the Dorians against Phokis, they advanced into Boiotia; and for-

Athene at Aigina. The scene is the combat of Herakles and Telamon with Laomedon. As on the western pediment (see pp. 65 and 67), Athene is present.

¹ From the original in the Louvre (cf. L. Heuzey, *Les figurines de terre cuite du musée du Louvre*, pl. xx. fig. 1). "A young woman, half-nude, seated in a low-backed chair, lifting her hand to her head."

² Thucydides, i. 18.

³ The wall from the city to Phaleron was about four and a half miles; the other, between Athens and Peiraieus, measured five (Thucydides, ii. 13). A third wall, the middle one, was constructed later.

getting the part Thebes had played in the Persian war, they aided that city in establishing her supremacy over the rest of Boiotia, for the purpose of raising up in the immediate neighborhood of Athens a powerful and hostile state. Invited by a secret message from some of the Athenian nobles,¹ their army came so far as to encamp on the frontiers of Attika, at Tanagra. The Athenians hastened to meet them. Kimon, who was in the neighborhood,



asked to be allowed to fight, with his tribe. There were well-grounded suspicions against his party, if not against himself, and he was refused. Withdrawing, he left his armor to his friends; they gathered about this noble trophy, and were killed, to the last man. The engagement was sanguinary; Perikles distinguished himself by the most brilliant valor; the treason of the Thessalians gave the victory to the Spartans (457 B. C.). They only gained thereby the advantage of finding the passage of the isthmus unimpeded. By the capture of Aigina, the Athenians had taken the mote from the eye of Peiraieus. Even before this important victory, Myronides had made amends for the defeat at Tanagra by the destruction of a large army of Boiotians at Oinophyta, and

¹ Thucydides, i. 107, says: "They [the Spartans] were also in some measure urged to this in secret by certain of the Athenians, who hoped to put a stop to the democracy and to the Long Walls that were building."

² Akarnanian drachma, *in genere*. The horned head of the Acheloös personified; legend: NAYEIMAXOZ, a magistrate's name. Reverse: AKAPNANON; Zeus, standing, launching the thunderbolt.

³ Cypriot Greek, fighting with a Persian; the Persian is at the left, and sinks on one knee, struck in the breast by his opponent's lance; he is recognizable as a Persian by the tiara he wears. Scarabeoid of bronze sardonyx in the treasure of Kourion; from G. Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, vol. iii. p. 646, fig. 448.

⁴ Herakles standing, the lion's skin on his shoulders, holding his club in the right hand, and his bow in the left. Reverse: in an incused square, a lion devouring a stag; legend in Phœnician letters: לבעלמלך (*de Baalmelek*). Baalmelek was king of Kition from about 450 to 420 B. C. There has lately been discovered at Dali (Idalion), an inscription concerning this king or his grandson (*Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-L.*, March, 1887).

this victory, giving, in Boiotia, Phokis, and a part of Lokris, the supremacy to the popular party, had established the influence of Athens over Central Greece.

In the year 456 B. C. a fleet, under the command of Tolmides, burned Gythion, the port of Sparta, insulted Corinth in her own gulf, defeated the Sikyonians, and captured Naupaktos. The Messenian war was at that time ending. The defenders of Ithome obtained the privilege of going unharmed out of the Peloponnesos; Athens welcomed them, and gave them Naupaktos, which she had lately conquered. Thence it was that their ancestors had gone forth to conquer the peninsula; a dream of like success might present itself to their minds.

These successes lightened the weight of the disasters experienced in Egypt, where the army and a squadron of fifty galleys sent to its aid had been destroyed. But an attempt to re-establish a Thessalian chief and punish the treason of the Thessalian cavalry at Tanagra had no success, nor was an expedition into Akarnania, led by Perikles himself, any more fortunate (454 B. C.). Men began to remember



COIN OF THE ELEIANS.¹

the leader to whom victory had never been false. Kimon was recalled, on the proposition of Perikles. His noble conduct and that of his friends at Tanagra had shown that he must not be included in the faction that were intriguing with the enemy as it had, at Marathon and at Plataia, intrigued with the Persians, and by whose agency the upright Ephialtes had just been assassinated. He had perished undoubtedly for the crime with which Plato reproaches him; namely, that he had abridged the powers of the Areiopagos, and had given the Athenians long draughts from the cup of liberty. Plutarch, although hostile to the democracy, explains to us more accurately what the crime was of this friend of Perikles: "He had rendered himself dangerous to the great by his inflexibility in prosecuting those who accepted bribes, and all who had committed injustice of any kind."

¹ Diademed head of Here, right profile. Reverse: in a wreath of olive-leaves, a thunderbolt and the letters *FA*, initials of the word *Φαλείων*. Tetradrachm.

The period which follows is imperfectly known to us. The war languished on both sides; there was a long negotiation as to terms of peace, and Kimon finally arranged only a five years' truce (451 B. C.). This last service



YOUNG GREEK WOMEN.¹

rendered to his country, he set sail for Cyprus with two hundred galleys, and besieged Kition, intending thence to cross over to Egypt; but he died at Kition, whether of disease or as the result of a wound, is not known (449 B. C.). His companions paid to him funeral honors of a kind that he would have desired. On the way home to Athens with his remains, they fell into a great Phœnician and Persian fleet, which they destroyed off Salamis in Cyprus; and landing the same day, dispersed an army which had been waiting for them on the adjacent coast. This double victory was the last act of the Median wars. A treaty was made, in which Athens bound herself to abstain from disturbing the Great King in

his possessions, and to give no assistance to the Egyptians. On his part, the king of Persia renounced all claim to the Greek cities on the Asiatic coast; that is to say, he left them under the protection of Athens, and acknowledging that the Ægæan was a Greek sea, he bound himself to send no vessels of war beyond the eastern promontory of Lykia, or the entrance to the Thracian Bosphoros.²

¹ Corinthian terra-cotta. Group in the Museum of the Louvre. (Cf. L. Heuzey, *Les figurines de terre cuite du musée du Louvre*, pl. xxiv. fig. 1, and p. 17.) A young Greek, with bare throat and shoulder, leans upon a second young woman, who is closely wrapped in her veil. The right arm of the former rests on her companion's shoulder, and in her hand she holds an apple.

² It has been denied that this treaty was ever made, because Thucydides does not mention it, and the account is found only in later writers, especially Diodoros and Plutarch, who differ in their account as to its date and conditions. But Thucydides has been misread. He says nothing of it, it is true, and could say nothing of it in the five or six lines that he devotes to this expedition; but in his book viii. chap. 56, he formally proves that such a treaty was made. He there represents the Persians as demanding from the Athenians: 1. The abandonment of Ionia and the adjacent islands; 2. The right of constructing a fleet and sailing the Ægæan Sea with

Athens abandoned hostilities with Persia, for clouds were already heavy over Greece. The devouring activity of the Hellenic race could not content itself with a long peace. Quickly there was a return to the old habits of civil discord, which the Persian invasion had for a moment suspended. We have seen Argos take advantage of the embarrassments of Sparta to crush Mykenai, which reproached her for her defection in

DRACHMA.¹

the war of independence; and Corinth, to threaten Megara. At an earlier period, Sparta had encouraged Elis to destroy the cities of the Pisatis, which was done so effectually that their ruins even could not be found in the time of Pausanias. There was not only war between cities, the ages past had bequeathed to each city two factions, between which there had not been able to spring up, to impose peace upon both, that intermediate class which lives by industry and commerce. With the exception of Athens, Corinth, and Korkyra, the Greek States were all agricultural, and almost in every case disdainful of all handicrafts, which they left to slaves. Now, a necessary consequence of slavery is to prevent the formation of a middle class. In these States, therefore, there were only the rich and the poor, regarding each other with hatred and envy, where they were not able to fling at each other insults, war, and death. Hence these domestic outbreaks, these political organizations so often overthrown, and one half of the population driving into exile the other half, or massacring it, without considering that bloodstains are ineffaceable, that crimes

as many vessels as they had in the time of Darius, — rights that Athens had evidently taken from them by treaty, since they ask them back in another treaty. The peace of Kimon, so called, which Plutarch wrongly places in 466, when nothing was settled, and which is properly placed in 449, when hostilities ended, is attested by Isokrates, who, born in 436, is nearly a contemporary (*Paneg.*, 118 and 120; *Areiop.*, 80, ed. Didot); by Demosthenes (*Concerning the False Embassy*, 273, and *On Behalf of the Rhodians*, 29); and by Lykourgos (*Against Leokrates*), who are of the second generation. The testimony of these four men, agreeing as it does with the facts, seems to me of higher authority than the vague assertion of Theopompos, contained in three lines of Harpation (*Fragm. des Hist. grecs*, ed. Didot, vol. i. p. 306, No. 168), the sole reason alleged being that Ionian letters instead of the ancient Attic letters were used in engraving the treaty on marble; it is possible that this is a copy made later to replace the lost or damaged original.

¹ Coin of Histiaia. Head of the nymph Histiaia, right profile. Reverse: ΙΣΤΙΑΙΕΩΝ. The nymph, seated on a galley's prow, holding the staff of a trophy. As symbol, a bunch of grapes.

call out other crimes, that morality and patriotism perish, and that insurrection against the law, against the State, in the end appears a legitimate act. How could honest and faithful citizens be made of these proscribed men whom we find prowling outside of cities, and in such numbers that we shall shortly see them form armies?



SACRIFICE TO ATHENE.¹

The Delphians, allies of Sparta, were guardians of the temple of Apollo; the Phokians, allies of Athens, took it from them. A Spartan army gave it back to its original custodians; an Athenian army, led by Perikles, recaptured it for the Phokidians (448 B. C.). These military expeditions of the two ruling States across Boiotia rekindled party strifes. The Boiotian exiles of the aristocratic faction united as a military force and surprised many cities. The Athenian Tolmides, underestimating their strength, hastened against them, contrary to the advice of Perikles, with a small band, and was defeated and killed at Koroneia (447 B. C.). This defeat gave back the preponderance in all the cities to the aristocratic

¹ Sacrifice to Athene, on a vase of Megara. From O. Iahn, *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis*, Bonn, 1866, pl. iii. 2. At the foot of an image of Athene, shaped like a trophy, rising out of a heap of stones, and approached by a flying Victory, two persons are preparing to offer sacrifice, — doubtless on occasion of a victory. He on the left leads a bull, whose head is adorned with fillets; he on the right a ram, which he holds with the right hand, and with the left carries a basket of fruit. A third figure, seated at the left, looks on.

faction, and Boiotia was lost to Athens. A like outbreak took place in Euboia, where the people of Histiaia, having captured an Athenian galley, put the crew to death. Athens, roused by this outrage, made a vigorous effort; Perikles set sail for Euboia with fifty galleys and five thousand heavy armed troops. Everything gave way before him; the revolt was severely repressed, although



THE SKIRONIAN ROCKS.¹

without sanguinary vengeance; the wealthy class (*Hippobotai*) were expelled, and the inhabitants of Histiaia were deprived of their city and their lands, which were given to the poor of Athens. But in the mean time Megara had massacred the Athenian garrison, and a Spartan army, taking advantage of this revolt, which opened the roads across the isthmus, entered and ravaged the territory of Eleusis (446 B. C.).

¹ From a photograph. The road (which forms part of the highway between Megara and Corinth) is hewn out of the rock, on the very edge of the sea. It was here, according to legend, that the robber Skiron flung travellers into the water, until he suffered the same fate himself at the hands of Theseus.

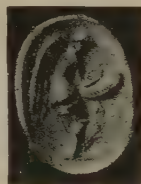
This army was commanded by the young king, Pleistoanax, whom the ephors had placed under the direction of Kleandridas. The latter accepted a bribe from Perikles, and returned to Sparta without fighting. Being accused of treason, he was condemned

BRONZE.¹

to death, but succeeded in making his escape to Thourion; Pleistoanax, being unable to pay the heavy fine which was imposed on him, lost his citizenship, and took refuge in Arkadia. In rendering his accounts to the people, Perikles placed a sum of ten talents under the head of "necessary expenses." The people understood

and accepted this, and this expenditure remained unaccounted for. The jealous Athenians were willing to leave this sum for Perikles to expend, and year by year he sent it to Sparta to buy such votes as were venal. This was his expense of secret police.

However, the war ended unfortunately. By the treaty of 445 B.C., which established a truce of thirty years between Sparta and Athens, the latter city relinquished the two harbors of Megara, which she could no longer keep, since the revolt; also Troizen, and the points she had held in Achaia on the Gulf of Corinth. Was this treaty a concession which the aristocratic party had extorted? We might believe this, on seeing its chief, Thucydides, banished the following year, and taking refuge in Sparta, — unless, indeed, we prefer to regard it as an act of extreme prudence on the part of Perikles, who since the destruction of the Athenian influence in Boiotia might have comprehended that it was not well for Athens to seek increase of territory on the mainland, where her fleets were useless to her, and where she encountered the hostility of Sparta. This view was just and wise. Moreover, Athens retained hegemony over the islands of the archipelago, over Euboea, which gave her food, and Aigina, which was her outpost against the Peloponnesos. Nevertheless,

CORNELIAN.²

¹ View of the citadel of Troizen, surmounted by the temple of Athene Sthenias. Legend: TPOIZHNION. Reverse of a bronze coin of Troizen, with the effigy of Commodus. In respect to the temple of Athene Sthenias, see Pausanias, ii. 30, 6, and 32, 5.

² Victory writing on a shield. Engraved cornelian of the *Cabinet de France*, Catalogue, No. 1,542.

the concessions she made on the mainland were painful to her pride. She kept a long and bitter resentment against Megara, the cause of the first war,—a cause also, by the base treachery with which she repaid the services of Athens, of that treaty which marked the close of the growth and perhaps the beginning of the decay of the Athenian empire.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE BEFORE THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

I. — PERIKLES.

PERIKLES was born in 494 B. C.,—four years earlier than the date of the first collision between Greece and Asia. His mother was a niece of Kleisthenes, the Athenian leader after the exile of the Peisistratidai, and his father, Xanthippos, the victor at Mykale. Perikles had great personal beauty, unless we except that his head, as if to correspond with his mighty intellect, was disproportionately large. For this reason the sculptors of his time always represented him helmeted.¹ But however great were his natural abilities, he, more than any other of the eminent men of history, was formed by his education.

From his early youth he was instructed in the noblest forms of knowledge which had up to that time exercised the human mind, and he received them from the lips of men of the finest genius, who gathered in Athens as in a common country. Zeno of Eleia taught him the severe doctrines and the powerful dialectics of his school. The musician Damon was employed to be his teacher in music (*mousika*);² but it was thought that the instructor also trained his pupil in the art of governing men, and especially of governing himself, by introducing into his soul a perfect harmony. To Damon, according to Plato, is attributable the

¹ Unless, indeed, he is so represented to signify the position of *strategos*, or general, which he always occupied (Plutarch, *Perikles*, 16). This would be the more probable conjecture, were it not that the comic poets made the conformation of his head the continual subject of their jokes.

² The word had in the Greek language a much broader significance than in ours; it included all the domain of the nine sisters. To the Muses was committed the training of the mind, as gymnastics trained the body.

declaration that a man could not interfere with the rules of music without disturbing the fundamental laws of human society. Attacked by the comic poets, he was ostracized as a partisan of tyranny. Perikles had a third adviser in Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, called Νοῦς, the Mind, either because of his skill in penetrating abstractions, or because he was the first to set forth clearly the idea of a mind in the world of matter.¹ This philosopher, who sought beyond its physical manifestations the harmonious principle of the Kosmos, loved in Perikles that elevation of thought, that dignity of character, which appears in his eloquence and in his conduct. Contemporaries were so impressed with this splendid intellect that they gave Perikles the surname of "the Olympian;" and even Thucydides and Plato, his political adversaries, are ready to speak of him as did the people of Athens.²

He did not act hastily, but with composure and serenity. Prudence, in the highest acceptation of the word, ruled his conduct. Everything to him was a subject for reflection. "Never," says Plutarch, "did he ascend the bema without offering a prayer to the gods that no word should escape his lips that was not useful in the matter under discussion." He had studied physical and mental science, he reflected deeply upon the subject of governing, and, above all, he studied the Athenians. No man more thoroughly understood this people; none investigated more clearly its weaknesses, not for the purpose of deriving profit therefrom, but in order to oppose them. He was the first to understand that, for a statesman, durable influence in a city like Athens could be obtained only on the condition of great discretion; and — a thing vastly more difficult — he acted accordingly. He knew that he was thought to resemble Peisistratos in features and in speech, and he was very careful to allay the puerile alarm that this resemblance already awakened. He waited, he long remained at a distance, and only slowly took any share in affairs; in the army, however, he manifested the most brilliant courage. Of noble race, he had little leaning towards the people, but policy

¹ We shall see later that Anaxagoras did not, indeed, disengage from matter the personality of a Ruler of the universe. His doctrine was nevertheless a great effort towards establishing the idea of one divine principle.

² Οὕτω μεγαλοπρεπῶς σοφὸν ἄνδρα. (In his *Menon*.)

and reason bade him stifle his prejudices. Kimon, at that time in the splendor of his victories, held the first rank in the aristocratic party, and this position in the popular party was occupied by no one; this, Perikles assumed. Since the battle of Marathon, the faction of the nobles had but a vexatious minority, making a fruitless opposition; only on the popular side there was an opportunity to do great things, and Perikles gave himself to the people.



OLYMPIAN ZEUS WIELDING THE THUNDERBOLT.¹

As soon as he began to take part in public affairs, he devoted himself unreservedly to the work; but not to be too much before the public, he rarely acted in person, usually putting forward some one of his friends to speak in the assembly. His hand was felt, but he himself was not visible. "Like the Salaminian galley," says Plutarch, "which was kept at Athens for solemn ceremonies," he appeared in public only on great occasions. But when he did appear, he displayed sovereign authority in what he said. Aristophanes represents him as "launching, like Zeus, thun-

¹ Fragment of a painting on an amphora in the Museum of the Louvre, on which is represented the Gigantomachia (*Monum. gr. publ. par l'Ass. pour l'enc. des Ét. gr.*, 1875, pl. 1). Zeus, standing beside his chariot, which is driven by a Victory, brandishes the thunderbolt against a giant who threatens him; the god wears a laurel-wreath, and holds his sceptre in the left hand.

derbolts and lightnings which will overwhelm Greece.”¹ This is a poet’s satire. The eloquence of Perikles was not characterized by outbursts of passion and enthusiasm. “Persuasion,” says Eupolis,



PERIKLES.²

“was upon his lips;” for he gave only wise counsels, in noble words worthy of the great interests that he desired to serve. His reign, as it is sometimes called, was the supremacy of good sense.

¹ *Acharnians*, 530–531.

² Marble bust in the Vatican, from a cast. (Cf. *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. vi. pl. 29). See the bust in the Vatican represented in the frontispiece of this volume, on which is engraved the inscription: Περικλῆς Ξανθίππου Ἀθηναῖος. There are other busts of Perikles, notably one in the British Museum, which will be represented later.

The friend of Anaxagoras thought, like the philosopher, that reason should sway all things (*πάντα διεκόσμησε νόος.*) Time, unfortunately, has spared to us none of his speeches, except only these words, which remain in all the memoirs of him: "They are im-



ΑΣΠΑΣΙΑ

ASPASIA.²

mortal," he exclaimed on one occasion, speaking of soldiers who had died for their country, "immortal as the gods; for by what sign do we recognize the gods, whose essence we cannot perceive? We see them not; only by the worship paid them are they revealed to us. Thus we know also those who have fallen for the common safety." In debate, he had the address which avoids obstacles, and the vigor which never suffers itself to be conquered. "When I have thrown him to the ground and hold him there," said one of his opponents, "he exclaims that he is not defeated, and all men believe him." Grace also was not lacking to his virile eloquence. "Our youth have fallen in battle," he said at one time; "the year has lost its spring."¹

The reserve of Perikles in public was not an affectation; in his private life he manifested the same moderation and dignity. His life was simple, modest, frugal; his soul was always tranquil, alike inaccessible to the intoxication of success and to resentment on receiving injury. One of his enemies, a man of low condition and vile character, followed the great Athe-

¹ Plutarch (*Perikles*, 8) says that this great orator neither made public nor left in writing any one of his speeches. The three attributed to him by Thucydides are but a remote echo of his actual utterance.

² Marble hermes, in the Vatican; from Visconti, *Iconografia greca*, pl. 15 a, No. 3. The inscription engraved at the bottom of the pillar seems doubtful; neither is the arrangement of the hair characteristic of the fifth century. The designation is then completely uncertain, and later we shall represent a bust which seems more authentic. Cf. *Bull. dell' Inst. archeol.*, 1869, p. 69, and *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1877, pp. 57 et seq.



THE WRESTLERS.

Marble group in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence (from a photograph and cast).

nian through the public streets, insulting him along the way, as far as to his own house; Perikles not once turned to look at the offender, but on reaching home called a servant and bade him take a torch and light the man to his house. He shared in no noisy pleasures, refusing all invitations to banquets or festivities. He was never seen in the streets except on his way to the council or the assembly of the people. Not to be at all diverted from public affairs by the care of his own pecuniary interests, possibly also that his frugality might be manifested, he caused


ATHENIAN DRACHMA.¹

GOLD COIN.²

to be sold each year and at one time all the products of his lands; and daily he sent to buy in the market what was needed for the use of his household, in which a strict economy was observed. Not that he was of a sad and severe disposition; in his leisure hours he surrounded himself with friends, and found relaxation in talking of art with Pheidias, of literature with Euripides and Sophokles, of philosophy with Protagoras, Anaxagoras, and Sokrates; and Aspasia of Miletos, whose house was a resort for this group of distinguished men, threw around every subject the grace of an inimitable wit, which, more even than her beauty, charmed Sokrates and captivated the affections of Perikles.

The conduct of Perikles, at once so reserved and so noble, was a criticism on the lavish gifts by which Kimon sought to buy popularity, as his irreproachable integrity recalled by contrast the recent memory of the rapaciousness of Themistokles. Thucydides and Plutarch bear this testimony to him that he did not increase his patrimony by a single drachma.

The people had at last found a leader whom they could respect and had no cause to fear. Accordingly, they gave him unbounded confidence. Never man had in Athens power like him, and — a fact honorable both to people and leader — never was power gained and preserved by purer means. Without special

¹ Helmeted head of Athene, right profile. Reverse: AΘE. Owl, standing; in the field, an olive-branch and a head of Medousa as a symbol.

² Owl, standing, to the left. Reverse, incused square (Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, 64). Athenian gold coin.

title, without designated authority,¹ "in virtue only of his genius and his integrity," Perikles was for fifteen years master in Athens as truly, and more nobly, than Augustus in Rome. Many a time he rated with impunity this crowd, so frivolous, it is said, and so capricious; the ballot of ostracism, which smote his rival Thucydides, was never cast for him. An ancient writer well says that "it was impossible to restrain the people, any more than an unbridled colt so daring that it would no longer obey, and now bit at Eubœia, and now rushed upon the islands." The comparison is witty, but this is history written in lampoons. Plutarch has made the comic poets his authority. We should remember that the Athenians of the time of Perikles were not like the base plebs of Rome, who cared only for *panem et circenses*, but were an aristocracy, elevated by its tastes, its elegance, its intellectual culture, and the habit of command above the ordinary condition.² The Athenian populace was composed of slaves, foreigners, *metoikoi*, that multitude of over a hundred thousand souls who thronged the city and Peiraieus; the aristocracy were the fifteen or twenty thousand citizens who alone judged and made laws, who appointed to public office and themselves held it, and decided the fate of half Greece. Furthermore their sovereign assembly rarely had more than five thousand members in attendance.³

¹ Perikles was, it is true, elected strategos each year; but this title he shared with nine colleagues, and he was never archon. Ahrens and Müller are of opinion that one of the ten strategoi had an authority vastly greater than that of his colleagues; as later the strategos *ἐνὶ τῷ ὄπλῳ* of the Roman epoch, and that hence in the expedition to Samos, Perikles had only subordinate colleagues. This is also the opinion of Curtius. At Marathon it was thought expedient to give every strategos supreme authority for his day of command, and experience must have taught that unity of command was still more necessary for a distant expedition. It seems probable, therefore, that what was granted Miltiades for a single day was granted to Perikles for longer time, without giving him any higher authority in Athens.

² What men, as a rule, were the Athenians! what a city was Athens! what laws! what civilization! what discipline! what perfection in all the sciences and all the arts! Also, what politeness in ordinary business and conversation! Theophrastos, the agreeable talker, the man who expressed himself divinely, was recognized as a foreigner, and so designated by a poor woman of whom he bought herbs in the market, who perceived by a lack of something Attic in him, which the Romans later called 'urbanity,' that he was not an Athenian; and Cicero relates that this great man was astonished to find that, having lived a life-time in Athens, possessing so perfectly the Attic tongue, and having acquired its accent by the habit of years, he had not acquired something which the commonest Athenian had by nature. — LA BRUYÈRE, *Discours sur Théophraste*.

³ Herodotos, vi. 97, and Aristophanes in *Lysistrata*, speak of 30,000 citizens; but this is simply conjectural. Plutarch (*Perikles*, 37) mentions the census of 444, which makes the

From this point of view all becomes clear and comprehensible. Perikles, to consolidate a necessary authority, did that which the force of circumstances was doing also,—he established at the head of this empire a privileged class, whose sentiments were daily ennobled by its artists and poets. We must, therefore, in speaking of the Athenians of that time, understand the word “people” to mean *noblesse*, or aristocratic body.

COUNCIL PERSONIFIED.¹

The name of Perikles will incessantly recur in this chapter.

number of actual citizens 14,040; 5,000 persons who had claimed this title without having a right to it were sold as slaves. But this unjustifiable assumption of citizenship was not rare; hence the total of the sovereign population varied not merely by the fact of deaths and births. According to Demosthenes, *Against Aristogeiton* (or the author of this oration), Athens had 20,000 citizens; this is the number that Aristophanes gives in *The Wasps*, and that can be derived from the lists of Thucydides when he enumerates with Perikles the Athenian troops at the opening of the Peloponnesian war,—in the active army a few hundred horse and 13,000 heavy armed infantry; to guard the fortresses, 16,000 more-hoplites, including old men, youths of eighteen or twenty, and the *metoikoi*,—the latter certainly the most numerous. If from this total of 20,000 citizens we take the aged men who no longer are occupied in public affairs, those absent in foreign lands for business or pleasure, the *klerouchoi* (of whom we shall speak later), and those inhabitants of Attika who cared not to take their share in the public affairs of the city, it will be apparent that in reality only a few thousand citizens took part in the government of the State. Thucydides, who makes the remark that the ordinary assembly rarely contained 5,000 members, shows (ii. 14 and 18) that the necessity of coming inside the city walls on the approach of the Spartans was accepted with great reluctance by men who had always been accustomed to live in the country. Nor should we wonder that the number of citizens *pleno jure* was so small; it was much less at Sparta, less still at Epidaurus, where Plutarch (*Greek Questions*) finds but 180, at Herakleia, at Knidos, at Istros, at Thera, and other cities. To confer citizenship was a very serious thing with the Greeks, for it meant to confer upon the new-comer equal religious rights (*μετέιναι τῶν ἱερῶν*), and there was cause to fear that the Poliac divinities might not be satisfied. But it was in this way that a city could grow. The number of pseudo-citizens in 444 proves that to claim citizenship wrongfully was common in Athens; and this it was which enabled the Athenians to fill the gaps in their population made by war, emigration, pestilence, and shipwreck; after the disastrous Peloponnesian war, they were as numerous as they had been before it. It was, moreover, a kind of axiom in Greece that a city ought to have but a limited number of citizens. We know how many were enough to Plato and Aristotle. Hippodamos, author of a treatise on *Politics*, limits his model city to 10,000. According to Diodoros (xviii. 18, 4) the reform of 322, which reduced the number of citizens to 9,000, compelled 12,000 others, who had less than 2,000 drachmas, to go elsewhere to seek their fortune.

¹ Lead tessera; from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. viii. pl. 32, No. 281 (cf. *Annali*, 1866, p. 354, and O. Benndorf, in the *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*, vol. xxvi., 1875, p. 600). On the obverse, a woman's head, with an olive-wreath and an ear-jewel; in the field the inscription, ΒΟΛΗ (=βουλή). On the reverse, woman's head with the *sphendone* [a broad band of metal or leather across the forehead.—ED.]. This tessera is the ticket received by members on leaving after a meeting of the Boule, which they exchanged for the drachma, their day's salary (see above p. 523). For a personification of the Council, see the bas-relief represented in Vol. I. p. 543.

Nevertheless there was nothing like a dictatorship in his case, unless by that word we mean the empire of reason and eloquence. Ancient institutions continued to be in force. Every proposed measure was presented to the Council of the Five Hundred, who investigated it, and if it met their approval, presented it to the assembly, where the prytaneis proposed it. The decision therefore rested with the people; but before the vote the popular assembly listened to Perikles.

II. — ORGANIZATION OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

THE entire administration of Perikles can be reduced to facts of two kinds, —

1. To consolidate the Athenian power.
2. To render Athens and the Athenian people worthy of this power.

We will examine his work in these two directions.

Aristophanes asserts that Athens ruled over a thousand cities; but this is evidently an exaggeration. We know of but two hundred and eighty; it is true we do not know them all. These cities were of three classes, — subjects, allies, and Athenian colonies.

The conquests of Kimon and Perikles had given to Athens Aigina and Euboia, those two bulwarks of Attika; Thasos, which commanded the Thracian coast; Naxos, half way to Asia; Eion, the key of Macedon; and a number of points on the north of the Ægæan Sea and in the Chersonesos. The Messenians held for her Naupaktos, which commanded the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf. Three conditions were imposed on the subject-cities, — to pull down their walls, or at least the fortifications of their harbors, to give up their war-vessels, and to pay a tribute.

The confederation which had been founded by Aristides had by degrees changed into supremacy for Athens, and a position of dependence for the allies. This change resulted from the nature of things. It was inevitable that the confederation should either break up or be converted into an Athenian empire.¹ From the

¹ Thucydides, i. 99. Heeren, *Idées sur le Commerce*, vii. 192, says: "Any one who understands the nature of a confederation and the difficulty of maintaining it will admit

day when they accepted the offer of Kimon and gave vessels and money instead of men, the allies had permitted all the strength of the league to be concentrated in Athens, all skill, all military pride to belong only to the Athenians. While they were occupied in traffic and handicrafts, Athens was carrying her



VIEW OF THE RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF ATHENE AT AIGINA.¹

victorious flag to every coast. Vainly would they have wished to break off an alliance which for the moment seemed to have no special aim. Athens was able to remind them of the honorable founding of her empire, and the oath sworn by them all, and the sacrifices to the gods, and the balls of red-hot iron solemnly cast into the sea, in token that the alliance was to be perpetual. She could afford to disdain the unpopularity she had incurred in fulfilling an imperious duty;² more than this, she

that it was almost impossible to avoid the appearance of taking an unfair advantage of the fact of being its chief member; what seems to one side an abuse of this superiority appears to the other a necessary means for attaining desired ends." To this another active cause may be added; namely, the hatred felt by all the Greek aristocracies towards the Athenian democracy, whose very renown imperilled their permanence.

¹ From a photograph. The view is taken from the east. Cf. colored frontispiece to Vol. I., and pp. 65, 67, and 71 of this volume.

² Thucydides, i. 75-76; ii. 63.

could point to the Phœnician fleets, ready to sail out if she withdrew her squadrons, and on every side piracy springing up if she slackened in the least her watchful care over the seas. They accepted, therefore, this necessary rule, under which at least their commerce prospered; and at the period of which we now speak, it was gratitude, not animosity, which they felt for the proud city. Lemnos sent her a bronze statue of her Poliac divinity,¹—the Lemnian Athene, the first work signed by Pheidias, and



COIN OF LEMNOS.²

according to Pausanias and Lucian, the most beautiful of all the statues of the goddess. It was the city holding the second place in the confederation, Samos, which proposed that the common treasure, eight hundred talents, deposited at Delos,

should be transported to Athens, to be secure from the Peloponnesians (about 460 B. C.). The general contribution in silver for the use of the league was increased from four hundred and sixty to six hundred talents.³ But this augmentation was probably due to the introduction of new members into the alliance. Even had it rested solely on the original members, they would scarcely have felt it, for from 479 to 445 B. C., silver, being much more abundant in Greece, lowered certainly in value, and an increase of a third in the contribution would have scarcely more than made the difference good.⁴ Accordingly, we find no complaint made on this point, and they had no other grievance to urge except their dependent position. The revolting Mytilenians say nothing else, and the Athenian envoy at Sparta reaffirms this.

The allied cities preserved their laws and their interior organization even where it was, as at Samos, Chios, and Lesbos, contrary to the democratic principle. It was only during the Peloponnesian war that it became a matter of principle at Athens

¹ The marble bust of Pallas Athene, represented on the next page, from a photograph, is in the Glyptothek at Munich (No. 92).

² Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: ΑΗΜΝΑΙΩΝ. Satyr standing; before him what is perhaps an altar of Dionysos. (Bronze.)

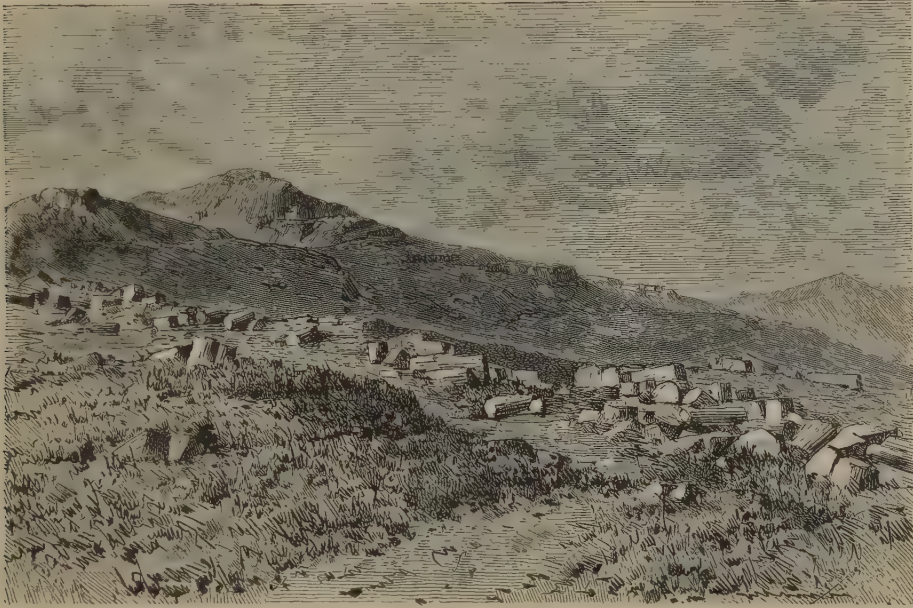
³ For causes that the reader will find explained in Busolt, *Der Phoros*, etc., in the *Philologus*, xli. 652 *et seq.*, this contribution varied.

⁴ From a passage in Plutarch, and from one in Aristophanes, it might be inferred that from Solon to Perikles, the value of silver decreased by two thirds. In France it decreased, between 1814 and 1849, one fifth (Léon Faucher, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, June, 1849).



PALLAS ATHENE.

everywhere to contend against aristocracy, which Sparta everywhere encouraged. They had also the right of making war separately,—the quarrel between Samos and Miletos proves this; and Athens continued to hold them as States so truly that Perikles sent to them envoys as he did to the Peloponnesian States and Boiotia in respect to a panhellenic congress, which he for a moment thought of calling together. A mistake was made by

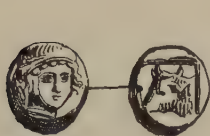
VIEW OF DELOS.¹

Athens in allowing the assembly at Delos to fall into desuetude. She ought to have maintained for her allies this discussion, which hampered her but little, of the common interests of the league. The idea of masters and subjects, which drove the latter to revolt, and the former to oppression, should not have been allowed to take root in men's minds. But that the Athenians should refuse this unlimited sway which came to them of itself, would have required an abnegation not to be expected from them. They

¹ From the *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, vol. iii. pl. 2. The view is taken not far from the harbor; in the foreground are the remains of the temple of Apollo; in the distance at the left is the akropolis, or Mount Kynthos, and at the right, the ruins of the theatre. The French School at Athens has made very important excavations at Delos, of which, later, a plan will be published.

were not a nation of philosophers; what State has ever been such? Perikles himself never even thought of this; while Athens kept the seas clear and the Persians at a distance, no man, he said, had a right to call her to account for anything.¹

The cessation of the congress at Delos brought with it another innovation. In forming the confederation, the allies had unquestionably decided that this assembly should determine in all federal affairs. This right passed from Delos to Athens with the guardianship of the common treasure, and was exercised by the heliasts.

HEKTE OF MYTILENE.²DIDRACHM OF ARGOS.³COIN OF ATHENS.⁴

But this jurisdiction, limited originally to any case regarded as an infraction of the alliance, encroached by degrees upon the civil jurisdiction. This encroachment was favored by the consent of the small States (which found themselves thus protected against the greater), and by the idea which was familiar to the Hellenes, notwithstanding their municipal pride, of justice sought in some cases, and rendered outside of their walls.

This recourse to foreign judges was a custom not unknown in Greece; for example, the people of Aigina called upon Epidauros to decide their disagreements.⁵ When Argos, in 421 B. C., proposed a confederation from which Athens and Sparta should be excluded, the condition was made that only cities having their

¹ Perikles said that the Athenians . . . χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ ὀφείλουσι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον (Plutarch, *Perikles*, 12). Not only did they give no account of their acts, but they made stipulations in the name of all. Thus they excluded the Megarians from all harbors of the allies.

² Diademed head of a woman, three quarters front (perhaps Sappho). Reverse: bull's head in an incused square. (Hekte of electrum.)

³ Diademed head of Here, right profile. Reverse: ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ. Diomedes carrying off the palladium.

⁴ Helmeted head of Athene, right profile. (Gold.) Reverse: ΑΘΕ. Owl, with displayed wings (Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 64).

⁵ Herodotos, v. 83. Böckh also says (iii. 16): "Athens took this course probably after the example of Thebes, Elis, Argos, and many other cities." The Italians of the Middle Ages sent to their neighbors for *podestats*, to be sure of impartiality in their judges.

own constitution and an independent jurisdiction should be admitted.¹ There were then cities in Greece which lacked one or the other. The Peloponnesians had also a federal tribunal, before which the Spartans often summoned Athens.

This judicial authority of Athens over her allies extended as did her political authority. Sentence of death could be pronounced only at Athens, — doubtless for political causes;² any difference between citizens of two cities, perhaps also any suits involving more than a certain sum, were carried thither.³ Hence delays, expenses of travelling and of residence in Athens, very disadvantageous to the allies, but very probably also an administration of more impartial justice. Thucydides himself says that the allies preferred to have the entire people of Athens for judge, because this great popular justice was their refuge and defence against the tyranny of the great.⁴ And elsewhere, "In their dealings with us, the allies are accustomed to the most perfect equality. We obey the same laws in accordance with which they are judged, and in our suits against them we often are the losers."⁵ This

¹ Thucydides, v. 27: ἥτις αὐτόνομός τε ἐστὶ καὶ δίκας ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας δίδωσι.

² This at least would seem to be the case, to judge from the oration of Antiphon, *On the Murder of Herod* (chap. 7).

³ The sycophant of Aristophanes, in *The Birds*, gives himself the title of "accuser of the islands" (κλητὴρ εἰμι νησιωτικός) . . . "I am," he says, "a hunter of suits, and I prowl around the cities to bring suits against them" (1422-1425). Xenophon shows also in *The Athenian Republic* (*ad fin.*) that many suits of the allies were judged in Athens. But is this work really of Xenophon's authorship? This question, like that of the date of the historian's birth, has given rise to numerous controversies. Letronne (*Vie de Xénophon*) gives 445 B. C.; Croiset (*Xénophon*), 435; Curtius, 431; Grote, and Belot, 430. The last-mentioned (*La République d'Athènes*) supposes that the treatise on the *Republic of the Athenians* was composed by Xenophon in 378. Curtius, Kirchhoff, and others believe that it was composed by an unknown author in 425; and this date seems the most probable. In fact, the author cannot be Xenophon, for he shows Athens in all her splendor, and Xenophon reached maturity only in the period of disasters. A sentence as to theatrical satires proves that the work was composed before *The Knights* and *The Wasps* had been represented. Adalbert Roquette (*De Vita Xenophontis*, 1884) regards as apocryphal the *Republic of the Athenians*, the *Apology*, the *Agésilao*s, and the *Letters*.

⁴ . . . τὸν δὲ δῆμον σφῶν τε καταφυγὴν εἶναι καὶ ἐκείνων [καλῶν καγαθῶν] σωφρονιστὴν (Thucydides, vii. 48, 6). It has been shown elsewhere how difficult it was for a subject of Rome to obtain justice from a consul or prætor. The condition of subjects of the two empires is no more to be compared than is the aristocratic organization of the Roman tribunals of the last century of the Republic, where everything was venal, with the *dikasteria* of Athens, which followed anger or pity more frequently than they did reason or justice, but which at least could not be bought, owing to the number of their members. In France, even, does it not often happen that a case is transferred, from well-grounded suspicion, to some tribunal other than that of the place where the crime was committed?

⁵ Thucydides, i. 77.

intervention in the domestic affairs of the allied cities became burdensome only during the Peloponnesian war, when Athens was constrained in her own defence, and for the maintenance of an empire useful to Greece, to lay numerous requisitions upon her allies, and — a double fault — to connive at extortions practised by some of her agents.¹ Accustomed to the benefits which they derived from the protection of the Athenian fleets, the allies finally forgot their obligation, and remembered only their financial and judicial dependence. The oligarchy, everywhere kept down, waited a favorable opportunity to assert itself, and this opportunity was furnished by the Peloponnesian war.

COIN OF SAMOS.²

Certain cities escaped this condition. Chios, Samos, Lesbos, perhaps also Potidaia, which, although of Dorian origin, asked to be received into the alliance, were not subject to the obligation of recognizing in certain cases the authority of the heliasts. Maintaining their own soldiers, their vessels, and their fortifications, paying no tribute, and furnishing a military contingent, these cities were in truth the only ones for whom the alliance in its primitive form could be maintained. But Athens could not permit them to abandon the alliance. It was just that all should contribute to the cost of a security by which all profited.⁴ Samos,

TETRADRACHM OF POTIDAIA.³

¹ They sent *episkopoi*, inspectors, also called *phylakes*, to keep watch upon the conduct of the allies and secure their fidelity (Harpocration, *s. v.* ἐπίσκοποι; Sainte-Croix, Introduction to his *Hist. d'Alex.*, p. 17). These inspectors, whose functions we do not well understand, must have been much disliked by the allies.

² ΣΑΜΙΟΝ. Androklos, founder of the colonies of Ephesos and Samos, standing in front of a galley, holding a sceptre and a patera. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of the Roman Emperor Philip I.)

³ Poseidon Hippos, armed with the trident, on horseback; under him, a star; before him, the letter Π, initial of the name Potidaia. Reverse, incused square.

⁴ Cf. Thucydides, i. 75, 76, 99. As soon as news reached Asia of the disaster of the Athenians in Sicily, the satraps at once called for the tribute of the Greek cities, which had not been paid for fifty years (Thucydides, viii. 5). The Athenian fleet protected equally the Sicilian and the Italiot Greeks. From 480 B. C. to 410, Carthage dared not once attack them, fearing to bring upon herself hostilities with the great city. Cf. Thucydides, vi. 34. Hermo-

however, desired to be released. A dispute had arisen between that city and Miletos. A war followed, in which Samos was victorious; but a democratic party had sprung up there, which sought only an occasion to overthrow the government, and this party united with the people of Miletos to call in the aid of Athens. The Samians received an order to suspend hostilities and accept the decision of an Athenian tribunal. Upon their



ATHENE AND THE GODDESS PARTHENOS.¹

refusal, Perikles went to Samos with forty galleys, established democratic institutions in the island, levied a tax of twenty talents to defray the expenses of the expedition, and brought away as hostages fifty men and as many boys, whom he left in charge of the Lemnians.

krates advises the Syracusans to solicit aid from the Carthaginians, who, he says, ἀεὶ διὰ φόβου εἰσὶ μὴ ποτὲ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔλθωσιν.

¹ Bas-relief carved as a heading to a treaty of alliance (from Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, pl. vii. No. 48). Athene, personifying Athens, is clasping the hand of the goddess Parthenos (ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ), who personifies Neopolis, the latter being of inferior stature. This treaty of alliance was concluded in the archonship of Elpines ([Ἐπὶ] ΕΛΠΙΝΟ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ), in the year 356 B. C. In respect to the Parthenon of Neopolis, see a note by Heuzey in the *Monum. publiés par l'Assoc. pour l'enc. des Ét. gr.*, 1875, p. 27, and *Mission archéol. de Macédoine*, p. 457.

A crowd of the defeated Samians had fled to Pisuthnes, satrap of Sardis. Hardly had the Athenians sailed away, before these exiles, aided by Persian gold, levied seven hundred men, sailed across to Samos during the night, and overthrew the democratic government. Perikles had left in the island a small Athenian



COIN OF KOLOPHON.¹

garrison, which they delivered over to the Persians; and before the news of their bold stroke had been spread abroad, they carried off their hostages, who had been left at Lemnos. Byzantion had a share in this outbreak, and the attempt was made even

to draw the Peloponnesos into a general war with Athens (440 B.C.). In an assembly of the allies at Sparta the question was eagerly discussed.² Corinth, herself at the moment much excited against one of her colonies, declared, although herself an enemy of Athens, that the conduct of the Samians was rebellion, and caused the refusal of their bequest; ten years later she took the other side.



COIN OF CHALKIS.³

But her first attitude was the true one. The allies had formally promised to remain closely bound to the Athenians; many inscriptions have preserved to us the formula of these engagements.

Oath of the Erythreians: "I will never separate from the people of Athens nor from her allies, and I will refuse to follow any man so doing."

Oath of the senators of Kolophon: "We will not separate from the Athenians in word or deed; and cursed be, with all that is his, that man among us who shall fail to keep this engagement."

Oath of the citizens of Chalkis: "I will not separate from the Athenians in act or word; if any shall instigate to defection I will denounce him to the Athenians."⁴

¹ Laurelled head of Apollo Klarios, right profile, with long hair. Legend: ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟ[N]. Reverse: lyre in an incused square.

² Thucydides, i. 40.

³ Wheel with four felloes. Reverse: incused square in four compartments. (Drachma.)

⁴ *Corpus inscr. Attic.*, vol. iv. No. 27 a; Foucart, *Revue archéol.*, April, 1877, p. 242; P. Guiraud, *De la condition des alliés*, p. 17.



PLAIN OF SYBARIS.

Athens therefore had the law on her side when she used force in obliging the confederates to remain in her alliance.

At news of the revolution which had taken place at Samos, the Athenians appointed ten generals to repress the insurrection; among them, Sophokles and Perikles. They had under their orders sixty vessels. Part of these were to keep watch upon the Phœnician fleet, which the Samian nobles had not hesitated to call to their aid; the remainder, forty-four in number, defeated the seventy galleys of Samos. Reinforcements from Athens, Chios, and Lesbos made a force sufficient to land on the island and besiege the capital, while Perikles with sixty sail cruised along the coast of Karia, hoping to

COIN OF SAMOS.¹ATHENIAN COIN.²

meet the Phœnicians. While the Athenians had as leader a tragic poet, the Samians were commanded by a philosopher, Melissos, a disciple of the austere Parmenides. He proved himself brave in war, surprised and sank a part of the Athenian fleet, defeated the rest, and threw reinforcements into the city. Perikles, quickly arriving, drove the Samians inside their walls, which he surrounded with trenches, and enforced a strict blockade with two hundred galleys. The Samians defended themselves for nine months, notwithstanding famine and the new machines with which Perikles battered their walls. This war was pushed with so much fury that on both sides, says Plutarch,³ the prisoners were branded with a hot iron. Surrender was, however, inevitable, for aid came neither from Asia nor from the Peloponnesos. The Samians were obliged to level their walls, give up their vessels, change their mode of government, and defray the expenses of the siege, plus 1,200

¹ Head of Here, front face. Reverse: ΣΑ; fore-part of a galley; under it, ΠΑΤΡΩΝ, a magistrate's name. (Bronze.)

² Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens. Beulé hesitatingly proposes to recognize in the figures Demeter in a chariot drawn by two dragons; before her, Persephone; behind her, Artemis Propylaia (Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, pp. 291 and 293).

³ *Perikles*, 40; but Thucydides makes no mention of these cruelties. Plutarch, *ibid.*, on the authority of Ephoros, speaks of war-machines constructed for the first time for this siege. This is not certain, but Thucydides (ii. 76) mentions those which the Spartans used before Plataia. This is the beginning of siege artillery, which had been unknown to the Greeks of Homer and Solon.

talents, payable in a certain number of years (439 B.C.). The submission of Byzantion followed closely.

This war held Greece for some time in suspense. It had not been without perils, for the Persians and the Peloponnesians waited only for a serious reverse suffered by the Athenians, to act; and Thucydides says¹ that Samos was on the point of snatching from the city of Kekrops the empire of the sea. This island had always retained from its ancient prosperity a considerable marine, which might have made the nucleus of a maritime league. Had the war been less serious, it would have been presumptuous levity in Perikles to compare it to the siege of Troy, which, he said, lasted ten years, while that of Samos was only of nine months' duration.

Many other things are to be noted in respect to this war. First, the haste of those who wished to separate from the league in calling Persia into their quarrel, which makes legitimate the

¹ Thucydides, viii. 76.

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented a fragment of a bas-relief now lost (from a drawing by E. Sartis, reproduced in Jahn's *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, pl. ii. B). The relief was similar to the Iliac Table, of which a fragment is represented above, p. 303. In the upper part, in the first line of the inscription, is an indication of the subject represented: 'Ιλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ῥαψωδιῶν μὴ (= xlviii.). Ἰλίου πέρσ[ιν]. In the centre is seen the city of Ilium, with its walls and its high towers; above it is the shield of Achilleus, held up by Thetis (ΘΕΤΙΣ). In the nine registers which remain are scenes taken from the first nine books of the *Iliad*. At the top of each register a short inscription gives a summary of the book. Other inscriptions, at the side of the figures, give their names or explain the scene. I. Χρύσης ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος [λίσσεται το]ῖς Ἀχαιοῖς [Χρυσήϊδα τὴν ἑα]υτοῦ θυγατέρα λυτρώ[σόμε]νος. Ἀγαμέμνων δ' αὐ[τὸν] ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου [κακῶς] ἐκδιώκει. Chryses kneels before Agamemnon, while his servants unload the cart which bears the ransom of Chryseis. Beyond is the temple of Apollo Smintheus, before which Chryses invokes the god. II. A man is pushing his vessel into the water. III. The encounter between Paris and Menelaos before the gate of Troy. Aphrodite descends to protect Paris. Within the walls two Trojans are conversing. IV. . . . σύγχυσιν ὄρων. ἐπιπλεῖται δ' Ἀγαμέμνων. Encounter between Pandaros (assisted by Athene) and Agamemnon. Machaon, kneeling, implores Menelaos. V. Ε. Εἰ· Διομήδης μὲν ἀριστεύει, πρὸς δὲ Ἴλιον ἔρχεται Ἔκτωρ. Diomedes, followed by Athene, treads under foot the dead body of Pandaros. Aineias comes, followed by Aphrodite (?) to protect her son. Encounter between Diomedes and Ares. VI. Ζ. Ζῆτα δ' ὁμιλεῖ τὰ πρὸς Ἀνδρομάχην, καὶ Πάριν ἐς χάριν ἔλκει. Diomedes converses with Glaukos. Before the city gate, through which comes Paris, Andromache carrying Astyanax in her arms, takes leave of the departing Hektor. Hekabe, followed by two Trojan women; they advance towards the statue of Athene, and offer a peplos to the goddess. VII. Η. Ἡτα Αἴας Ἐκτορι μουννομαχεῖ, καὶ νύξ αὐτοὺς διαλύει. Aias, followed by Talthybios, throws himself upon Hektor, who lies on the ground near Agamemnon, and leans against his shield. Apollo is behind the Trojan hero. Further to the right, Aias and Hektor exchange their weapons (ἀλλήλους ὅπλα δωροῦνται). VIII. Θ. Encounter between Paris and a Greek. Hektor, in his chariot, pursues the chariot of Nestor. IX. Achilleus, standing before his tent, receives the deputation sent him by the Greeks.



SIEGE OF TROY.

empire of Athens, in showing that without her firmness in keeping these cities united, their dissensions would have quickly given them over defenceless to the Great King; next, the fidelity of the other allies, who all stood firm, — a proof that this empire was by no means so odious; the moderation of Athens, inflicting upon Samos, vanquished after an obstinate resistance, only the conditions imposed on Thasos and Aigina, without special cases of vengeance; lastly, her right to punish a guilty defection, since she had only applied the principle proclaimed by Corinth, her rival and recently her enemy, in the congress of the Peloponnesians, that each confederated State had a right to constrain rebellious members.¹ Isokrates maintains that in three months the Spartan *harmosts* had put to death without legal proceedings more Greek citizens than Athens during the whole duration of her empire.² We shall soon see that Greece was not able to endure for a period of ten years the heavy rule of Sparta, while the Athenian confederation lasted long, and it was of their own accord that the former allies of Athens came, in 377 B. C., to gather once more around her, renewing the federal pact.

COIN OF EUBOIA.³

It is well to insist upon these facts, for rarely is justice done to the Athenian people, — that splendid democracy, sometimes, no doubt, ungrateful, violent, and fickle, but redeeming its faults by its enthusiasm for all that was grand and beautiful, by the masterpieces that it inspired, by the artists, thinkers, and poets that it gave to the world. Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides, Pheidias and Aristophanes, Sokrates and Plato, — all of them, some in spite of themselves, still plead for their country before posterity.⁴

¹ This principle was asserted by the Northern United States against those of the South.

² *Panegy.*, § 113, ed. Didot.

³ Head of the nymph Euboeia, left profile. Reverse: EYB. Bunch of grapes. (Diobolos.)

⁴ A learned historian of Greece, Bishop Thirlwall, speaks of "all the attempts which for the last forty years have been systematically made in our own literature, the periodical as well as the more permanent, for political and other purposes, to vilify the Athenians." In Germany, Professor Drumann (*Geschichte des Verfalls der griechischen Staaten*) has exceeded in this direction all previous violence. It is true he no more spares Cicero at Rome than Perikles at Athens. Nor let us forget that all our information comes to us from friends of the oligarchy, from those opposed on principle to the democracy, or having suffered from it, — Thucydides, whose bitterness and severity toward his country are censured by Dionysios of Halikarnossos; Aristophanes, whose virulent satires are no more impartial than our political pieces; Plato, as

Besides the subject and allied cities, Athens had numerous colonies. Perikles had recognized the triple advantage of colonial foundations for diminishing the number of poor in the city;¹ for occupying at a distance, in the interests of commerce and of the Athenian power, positions of importance; and, lastly, for giving to the citizens lands of more certain yield than those of Attika, which had been exposed, since the defection of Megara, to the ravages of the Peloponnesians. Euboia had already received four thousand colonists. Two thousand Athenians went out to found on the ruins of Histiaia the city of Oreos, which commanded the navigation of the Maliac and Pagasaian Gulfs; others



COIN OF ANDROS.²

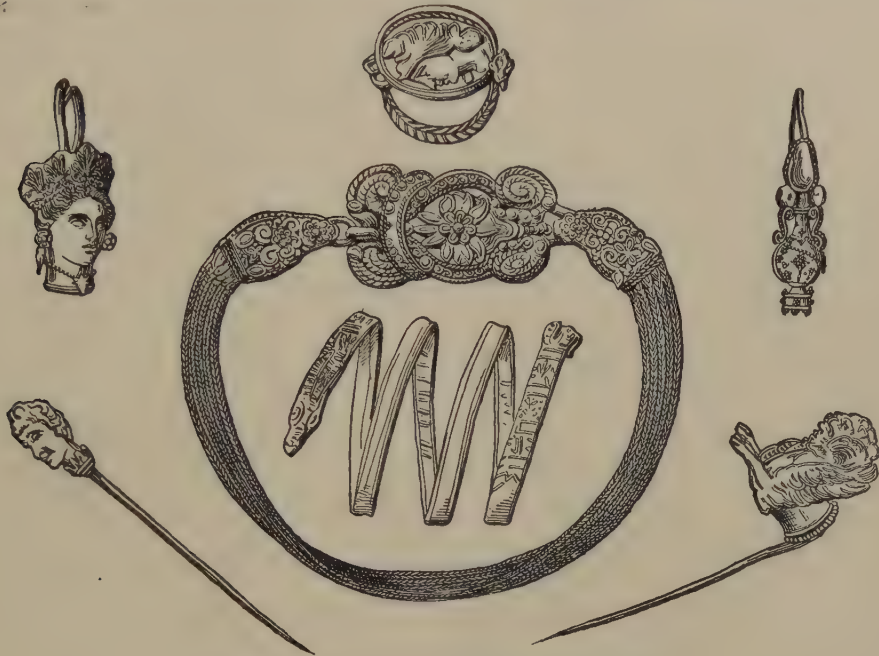
were at Chalkis, the gate of Euboia. They thus held by its two ends the island which was to be the granary of Attika whenever the cereals of the Euxine should fail; and they possessed two thirds of its territory. To Naxos were sent five hundred colonists, and to Andros two hundred and fifty,—the two citadels of the Cyclades. The lands of Skyros, one of the stations on the voyage from Peiræus to the Thracian coast, belonged to Athenian owners. We know what importance was given to Thrace by the gold mines of Mount Pangaion, by forests of valuable timber, fertile fields, and rivers which gave access to inland regions of vast extent; one thousand colonists were established in the district of Bisaltia. In 437 B.C., Agnon, the son of Nikias, resuming the project which had formerly been so unsuccessful, of a colony at the Nine Ways, took away this territory from the Edonians, and founded there, between the two arms of the Strymon, the city of Amphipolis, destined by its position to a brilliant prosperity. Imbros and Lemnos, at the entrance of the Hellespont, were

much the pupil of Lykourgos as of Sokrates; and Xenophon, who is more a Spartan than an Athenian. Among those hostile to Athens we must count even Voltaire, who attributes all her glory and power to her great men,—but in maintaining this opinion, he was urging his own claims on France; and Montesquieu also, who goes so far as to say (*Esprit des lois*, VIII. iv.): “The victory of Salamis corrupted the Athenian republic.” But what is this corruption, from which are born so great things? What is this evil which is life and strength?

¹ These colonists were called *klerouchoi*. The State gave them arms and money for the journey. Thucydides, iii. 50; Plutarch, *Perikles*, 36; *Corp. inscr. Attic.*, i. 31, line 30, and the argument of the oration *On the Chersonesos*. In regard to the *klerouchoi*, see later, p. 591.

² Head of Dionysos, with ivy wreath, right profile. Reverse: *ΑΝΔΡΙ*. Amphora. (Bronze.)

occupied by descendants of the colonists of Miltiades, who retained their rights as citizens of Athens. Then, as now, the fisheries of the Euxine were extolled, and also the fertility of the



JEWELS FROM THE KIMMERIAN BOSPOROS.¹

vast plains which lie on the north of that sea. Thence sterile Attika drew nearly all her supplies, and she early sought to gain a footing there. Even before the Median war, the elder Miltiades had occupied the Chersonesos, whence the passage from the Ægæan into the Euxine Sea can be opened or closed at will. After the battle of Salamis, the first care of Athens was to drive the Persians from this point, — Perikles sent thither one thousand more colonists; and to close this peninsula against the incursions of the Barbarians, he repaired the wall, with its forts at regular intervals, which the elder Miltiades had built across the isthmus.



COIN OF KROTONA.²

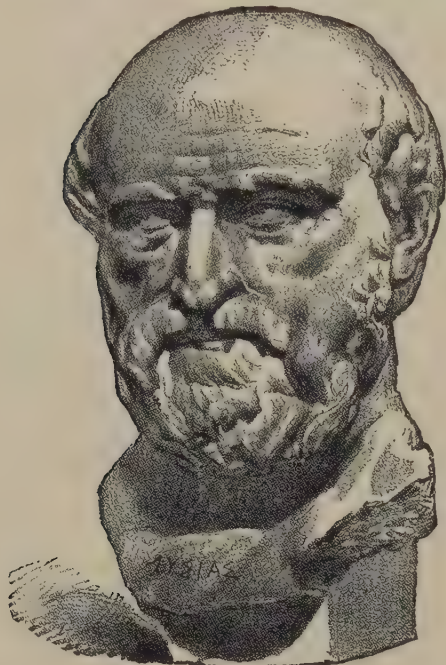
¹ Ring, collar, bracelet, ear-jewels, gold pins (from the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. xvi. 4; ix. 2; xiv. 5; vii. 11 and 19; xii. a, 12 and 14).

² Eagle standing on a stag's head. Reverse: QPO. Tripod; in the field an ivy-leaf. (Silver.)

We have seen also that he seized upon Byzantion after the reduction of Samos.

He established colonies even on the north of the Euxine. Sinope, founded by the Milesians, was torn by factions; the dem-

ocratic party, struggling with the tyrant Timesilaos, could hope for nothing from Miletos, at that time too feeble to render aid; and they called Perikles to their assistance, who, at the head of a numerous fleet, visited those shores, to make a splendid display there of Athenian power. He left at Sinope thirteen vessels under the orders of Lamachos, who expelled Timesilaos. The victorious party rewarded six hundred Athenians with the possessions of the tyrant and of his partisans exiled with him. About the same time Amisos received into her territory so large a number of Athenians



LYSIAS.¹

that in the time of Mithridates the population of this city was regarded as of Attic origin. Opposite, on the other shore of the Euxine, reigned in the Tauros the kings of the Kimmerian Bosphoros, who remained faithful to their alliance with Athens even in the days of her disasters. They secured to her commerce important privileges, and the cereals of the Tauros fed Attika and the islands.



DIDRACHM OF THOURION.²

¹ Bust of the orator Lysias (ΛΥΣΙΑΣ), in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph).

² Helmeted head of Athene Kratheia, right profile. The helmet is decorated with a figure of the monster Skylla; behind the head, the monogram TE. Reverse: ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ. Bull threatening with his horns; under it, ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΣ, the name of the artist who engraved this splendid coin. In the exergue, a fish.

Even westward Athens sent colonies. The inhabitants of Sybaris, fifty-eight years after the destruction of their city, had attempted to rebuild it. The people of Krotona drove them away. Thereupon they implored aid from Sparta, who refused to concern herself in so remote an enterprise; then that of Athens, and their request was supported by Perikles. Appeal was made to all foreigners to take part in the expedition, and among them were the historian Herodotos, and Lysias the orator. The city of Thourion, which had the honor of counting these two illustrious men among her founders, was not on that account the more for-



QUINCUNX OF HADRIA.¹

tunate at first. Those who remained of the former population of Sybaris showed a pride and made claims which offended the newcomers; in the furious strife which followed, the Sybarites were completely exterminated. From that time Thourion, adopting the institutions of Charondas, lived in peace at home and abroad. A few Athenians also seem to have shared in the foundation of Parthenope, upon the Tyrrhenian Sea, and an inscription of later date preserves a decree of the people sending colonists to the Italian shore of the Adriatic to drive away the Etruscan pirates of Hadria and Spina.²

¹ Legend: HAT. Head of Medousa, left profile, the hair bristling, and wrapped around with a coiled snake. Reverse: Pegasos, galloping to the right. Underneath, five globules, — the mark of the quincunx.

² Böckh, *Seewesen*, p. 462, . . . περί τῆς εἰς τὸν Ἀδριακὸν ἀποικίας.

In the early colonial system of the Greeks the colony soon became estranged from the mother-city. This was the case also with some of the colonies of the fifth century, such as Thourion, Amphipolis, and others. The *klerouchia* of Perikles had an entirely different character. They were founded by public authority, and the countries where Athens established them were a veritable extension of the territory of Attika. The *klerouchoi* preserved all their rights as Athenian citizens, they were inscribed, both they and their descendants, in their native demos; they might sacrifice at the altars of the Poliac divinities;¹ it is said that Aristophanes and Plato were sons of *klerouchoi* established at Aigina. In suits, and in the apportionment of *leitourgia*,² the colonists had a legal excuse, being regarded as absent "for the service of the State."³ Accordingly, they were called: "The people who are at Samos, the people who are at Imbros" (ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ). Conquered lands were assigned to them, reserving the tenth for Athene, so that the revenue of the consecrated domain, and consequently the treasure kept on the Akropolis, increased at the same time with the public power.⁴ And, to conclude, the *klerouchia* organized itself like the mother-city, giving itself a constitution framed like that of Athens, and the metropolis sent into the colony an *epimeletes*, or inspector.⁵

In this policy there are indeed certain points of similarity to the Roman system, but more of difference. Rome, a continental power, placed in the centre of her empire, all her colonies within her reach, was able to defend them and to keep them in a condition of dependence, while Athens was able to retain hers. scattered on the islands and on remote coasts, only so long as she

¹ *Corp. inscr. Attic.*, ii. 593.

² [Certain personal services to the State, also involving considerable expense. The nine archons, heiresses, and orphans under age, were exempt; and sometimes exemption was granted as a public honor to persons who had done the State especial service. — Ed.]

³ Foucart, in a learned paper on the Athenian colonies of the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ, defines the condition of the *klerouchos*. "There were no other changes in his condition of Athenian citizen than absence necessarily involves; the only peculiarity in his situation was that it might last during his entire life and be transmitted without alteration to his heirs."

⁴ Herodotos, v. 77; vi. 100; Thucydides, iii. 50. Demosthenes, *Against Timokrates*, § 120, says that a tenth of the fines, the product of prizes, etc., was allotted to the treasury of Athene, and one fiftieth to that of the other divinities.

⁵ Cf. *Bull. de Corr. hellén.* (1885), p. 51.

remained mistress of the seas,—hence it was a necessity for her to be always a strong maritime power. When she lost this control, her *klerouchoi* were expelled or subjugated. The system of Perikles, excellent for extending or maintaining the maritime



THEMISTOKLES.¹

supremacy of Athens, could not prevent her being defeated at sea or suffering the loss of Peiræus. The Roman colonies, on the contrary, saved the continental supremacy of Rome by covering their metropolis with an impenetrable shield against Pyrrhos and against the Carthaginians.

¹ Marble bust of the former Cabinet Pastoret (from a cast). The designation is uncertain, and the bust has been considered to represent Perikles (*Archäol. Zeitung*, 1868, pl. i.).

The foundation of numerous colonies is, moreover, but a part of the Roman system; this system was completed by the admission of a very great proportion of foreigners to the rank of citi-



THE EXAMINATION OF ATHENIAN CAVALRYMEN.¹

zens. Now, Athens practised but parsimoniously this liberal policy which, in our own time, has caused the rapid growth of the United States of America. In 444 a Libyan king, ruler of a

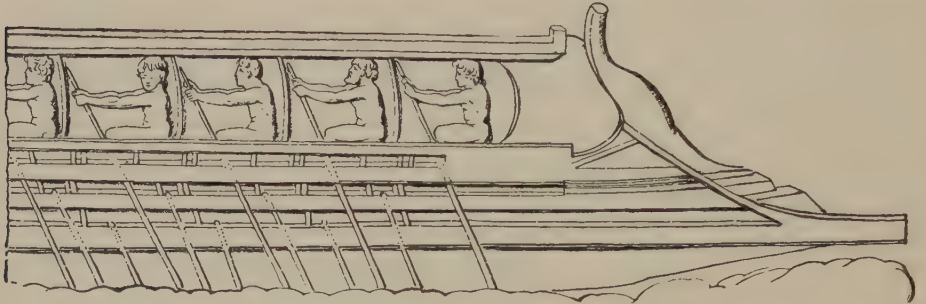
¹ Painting on a cup of Orvieto, in the Museum of Berlin (A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* . . . No. 1,899); from the *Archäol. Zeitung*, xxxviii. (1880), pl. xv. Three cavalrymen present themselves, each holding his horse by the bridle, before the commission of the council (*Βουλή*) which is to examine them. The painter represents two only of these commissioners; both lean on sceptres, and have shoes on their feet. The first (the upper part of whose figure is lacking) stands before a secretary, who holds a diptych on his knees, and seems to be noting the report of the commissioner. He is himself examining the horse of the cavalryman who stands before him. Behind the horse is evidently an officer, perhaps one of the hipparchs.

great part of Lower Egypt, made a present of wheat, to be divided among the people. Upon this occasion Perikles ordered a census to be made, and he excluded from citizenship all whose father or mother were not Athenians. Nearly five thousand inhabitants were deprived of their title, and the number that remained after the application of this test was but little over fourteen thousand. According to this standard Themistokles would have been but an alien in Athens, for his mother was not an Athenian, and the city that he had saved would have sold him as a slave if it is true, as another narrative tells us, that Perikles applied to the five thousand *metoikoi* the rigorous law which existed against those who falsely claimed citizenship. How great the difference would have been had Perikles, like the Roman senate, opened wide the city to foreigners; had political rights, instead of continuing limited to a few, been by degrees conferred on many! Instead of counting a few thousand citizens, Athens would then have had a multitude, and the empire, with its broad base, would not have been overthrown at the first shock. According to some writers, Athens had command over a multitude of men. Their statements are without doubt exaggerated; but were half of the statement true, still it was not with an imperceptible minority of fourteen thousand citizens that so many peoples could be ruled. This is the secret of her weakness, and Perikles, clear-sighted as he was in so many respects, made a fatal mistake in not seeing that Athens must renounce her empire, or else abandon her municipal egotism.¹

Then follow two horsemen leading their horses. The last figure is the other commissioner, a bearded man of mature age. At the bottom of the cup is represented one of the two hundred Scythian archers who completed the Athenian cavalry. He stands behind his horse, in his barbaric costume. He examines his arrow, which he holds with both hands. On the examination (*dokimasia*) of the cavalry by the council, see A. Martin, *Les cavaliers athéniens*, 1886, pp. 526 *et seq.* The Athenian cavalry (who were not, like the Roman *equites*, a class of the people, but merely a division of the army) were, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, one thousand in number, and to them were added two hundred mounted archers. Aristotle (*Politics*, IV. iii. 2, and IV. x. 10) makes the preponderance of cavalry in the military organization of a city a characteristic of aristocratic governments. It will be seen that the Athenian cavalry — the rich citizens, that is to say — were the inveterate enemies of democracy; but they were never numerous enough to establish a lasting supremacy. Their political rôle can be easily ascertained, but not so their military rôle. It may be doubted whether Athens ever had her thousand horse in proper condition for service.

¹ See *History of Rome*, chap. xvii.

Xenophon, who lived, it is true, a generation later, comprehended that here safety lay. "Let us be favorable to the *metoikoi*," he says, "and thus secure one of our most valuable sources of revenue,



FORWARD PART OF A TRIREME.¹

since it is they who pour wealth into our laps; and far from being to us a burden, they pay a tax for their dwelling. Let us abolish all forms of servitude which have been inflicted upon them, which

¹ Drawing by the Cavalier del Pozzo, corrected by Graser (from A. Cartault, *La trière athénienne*, pl. 4). The original is lost; perhaps, as Cartault supposes (p. 131, n.), it was a fragment of the bas-relief of the Akropolis represented p. 468. The beak (*ἔμβολον*), with square extremity, shows plainly above the water-line; above the beak is the *προεμβόλιον*, formed of three beams with square ends, retreating one above another.

A law, whose date is unknown to us, mentioned by Demosthenes in his *Oration against Androtion*, forbade giving a wreath to the Senate at the close of a session, if it had not, during that period, built at least one war-vessel. Great discussions have been carried on in France, in Germany, and in Italy as to the construction of the ancient galleys, the arrangement of the benches of rowers, the number of men at each oar, etc. The question is not yet settled for the naval architects, but it is so for the historians, inasmuch as the ancient authors, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions unite in giving the Athenian galleys many ranks, or, as Vergil (*Æneid*, v. 271) and the elder Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, vii. 57) say, many orders (*ordines*) of rowers, —

Amisiss remis atque ordine debilis uno.

This word *ordo* implies a superposition of oars, and the familiar names, *thalamitai*, *zygitai*, and *thranitai* correspond to the three ranks of rowers. For the Sicilian expedition, Thucydides (vi. 34) relates that the trierarchs who fitted out the galleys, gave gratuities in addition to their pay to the *thranitai*, or oarsmen of the upper row, because, using a longer oar, their work was more fatiguing: *οἱ δὲ θρανῖται, μετὰ μακροτέρων κωπῶν ἐρέττοντες, πλείονα κόπον ἔχουσι τῶν ἄλλων*. Thucydides says also (iv. 32): "As soon as it was morning, the rest of the forces also disembarked; that is to say, all the crews of seventy ships, except the lowest rank of rowers." The Scholiast of Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 1,106), the *Onomastikon* of Pollux (i. 87), and others distinguish the three rows of oarsmen.

Lastly, the inscriptions recently discovered at Peiraieus on the site of the arsenal mention three banks of oars of different lengths. The Athenians armed other vessels besides triremes; they had smaller galleys and transport-vessels for horses, baggage, and provisions. When Thucydides (iii. 17) says that in the year 431 B. C. Athens had at sea two hundred and fifty ships, we cannot believe that they were all war-vessels fully equipped. If we allow but twenty-five men to each rank on each side, we shall give thirty-seven thousand five hundred

are both odious and useless. Let us relieve them from serving in the heavy armed infantry. We should even receive them into the cavalry. Thus we should secure their good-will, and draw to ourselves all who are citizens of no other city, and who would increase the wealth, the population, and the power of the State.”¹



COMMERCIAL SCENE.²

Such is, theoretically, the true policy of a State. But was it applicable in Greece as it was in Rome? Were not religious institutions in some degree hostile to it, and still more the ideas which prevailed as to the character a Greek State ought to retain? Perikles, like Plato and Aristotle, had no conception of a city other than one with a small and sovereign population; and we have seen that the five thousand voters were less a people than

oarsmen to these two hundred and fifty vessels, — a multitude which it is certain that Athens could not have brought together. Another passage in Thucydides (ii. 93) leads to the same conclusion: “It was decided, therefore, that each man should take his oar, his cushion, and the leathern thong which attached the oar to the side of the boat, and go by land from Corinth to the sea, and launch forty vessels which were there, and sail straightway to Peiræus.” These oars, which each man was to carry from Corinth to Megara, a distance of five miles, could not have had the length and weight of oars of the first bank.

In the *Republic of Athens*, citizens are represented as skilled in rowing.

¹ *On the Revenues of Attika*, 2. If this treatise is not by Xenophon himself, it at least belongs to his period.

² Scene painted on an amphora of the manufactory of Taleides (from O. Jahn, in the *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissens. zu Leipzig*, 1867, pl. iv. 1). Three men are occupied in weighing bales of merchandise.

a corporation ruling an empire. But if they were few in number, how great was the emulation! "The world looked on at them; they enjoyed the twofold advantage of small States and of great theatres."¹

This empire possessed for its defence resources which seemed to enable it to set the world at defiance.² It had for its fleet no great river falling into the sea; the most important stream of Attika was but a torrent, creeping through sands to the bay of Phaleron. But Peiraieus was not far away, and it offered a splendid harbor to three hundred triremes, equipped with a great army of rowers, slaves, or mercenaries, gathered from every side, *metoikoi*, and even Athenian citizens. Add to these, thirteen thousand heavy-armed infantry, citizens, and *metoikoi*, who could take the field at a moment's notice; sixteen thousand youths or old men, intrusted with the protection of the forts; twelve hundred horsemen, including two hundred mounted archers and sixteen hundred Scythian and Kretan archers on foot. Shipyards, which Themistokles had begun, gave the opportunity for prompt repairs when vessels were damaged, as often happened, on account of the bad quality of the wood employed. Lastly, there were ninety-seven hundred talents in the treasury, not to mention five hundred talents represented by the offerings deposited in the temples by the spoils taken from the Medes, and by the forty gold talents which decorated the statue of Athene. To this important reserve must be added the annual revenue of the State.

If the maintenance of armies at this period was less expensive than it now is, because there were at that time very few engines of war employed,³ and every citizen was expected to equip himself at his own expense, it is nevertheless certain that forces like

¹ Madame de Staël, *De la Littérature*, etc., part i. chap. i.

² We enter into some detail as to the finances of Athens, because the other Greek States had, in less proportion and according to circumstances, similar receipts and expenses. "With the exception of the tributes," says Böckh, *Econ. polit. des Athén.*, ii. 4, "the other Greek States had the same revenues." The standard of Athenian currency was a piece of silver, the drachma, having an intrinsic value of about eighteen cents. (See Vol. I. p. 531.) The talent, six thousand drachmas, was used for reckoning. In respect to the advantage to foreign merchants of receiving coin at Athens instead of being reduced to barter, as at other ports, see the *Rev. de l'Attique*, chap. iii.

³ Perikles employed machines at the siege of Samos.

those of Athens required large expenditure. The construction of vessels, the pay of infantry, cavalry, and rowers, the salaries of judges, the indemnity citizens received for attending the assembly, gratuitous distributions of wheat, large expenses for festivals, and for the great public works of Perikles, would easily take in time of peace one thousand talents annually. How was it possible to meet these expenses when they were increased by war?

In our old civilization, wealth acquired and transformed into investments accumulates and increases with families who know how



to preserve it. Modern democracy aims at increasing the wealth of the treasury in like manner, to diminish the taxes on necessary articles, paid most largely by the poor, because they are the most numerous. The Greeks, on the contrary, a young nation obtaining wealth by commerce and industrial occupations much more than by land-ownership, were averse to direct contributions. At Athens there was great reluctance to tax property and labor, except in cases of urgent need, as in 428 B. C., when the citizens furnished the State two hundred talents.⁴

The best revenue appeared to be that which was derived from property belonging to the State, and from indirect taxes. In cases of danger the Athenians relied on voluntary gifts, which

¹ Leaden token, from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. (1884), pl. iii. No. 64. Isiac ornament between the caps of the Dioskouroi; under it ΤΡΙΩΒΟ[λον]. Perhaps this was a piece of conventional coin current in the temples.

² Gorgon's mask, front face. Reverse, bearded head, right profile. Legend: ΔΗΜ. This bearded head is perhaps the Demos personified. (See *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. p. 7, No. 27.)

³ Leaden tokens, from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii., pl. i., Nos. 24, 23, 26. No. 1. Grasshopper; beside it the letters, ΑΓΟ[ρανόμων]. No. 2. Sea-horse; on his back, a cornucopia; on his breast, a human mask in profile; above, an incomplete inscription; around, [Αγο]ΠΑΝΟΜ[ων]. No. 3. A caduceus and the letters ΑΓΟΡ.

⁴ Thucydides, iii. 19: "Although they had among themselves for the first time raised a contribution of two hundred talents." It has been thought by learned men that it was for the first time during the Peloponnesian war that the εισφορά was established.

rarely failed, and on ordinary occasions they exacted money from the rich. From aliens (*metoikoi*) dwelling in the city, and trafficking under the protection of its laws and its authority, a tribute was required, the *metoikion*, as compensation for the facilities Athens furnished to their business; and the slave owed a capitation-tax, which the master paid.¹



THE LAUREION.²

In virtue of these principles there were at Athens seven main sources of revenue,—

1. The product of the domains of the State,—forests, pasture-lands, farms, houses, salt-works, waters, mines, etc.³ These domains were leased for a term of years or forever, in order to save the State the expense of creating an army of public functionaries to administer them. The rent was generally paid in silver. The silver mines of the Laureion extended along the eastern coast for a distance of about sixty miles between Anaphlystos and Thorikos. These mines yielded forty talents a year in the time of Themistokles, and he applied this revenue to the construction of vessels. During the Peloponnesian war there was a scarcity of men to

¹ On the condition of the *metoikoi* and of the slaves, see Vol. I. pp. 572-576.

² From a photograph. The view is taken from the northeast. The harbor and the modern mills are seen. The present name of the place is Ergastiria.

³ The temples, owned by the State or by the *demoi*, had their domains, which were also leased to furnish money for the expenses of the cult.

work them, but activity returned again with peace.¹ To citizens and to aliens enjoying civil rights, the State granted permission to work portions of the mines for about a talent; but besides this price, paid once, there was a farther tax of one twenty-fourth of the product. Outside of their own territory the Athenians



A COURTESAN, A PLAYER ON THE LYRE.²

had the gold mines of Thasos, and those of Skaptê-Hylê in Thrace, which together brought in from two to three hundred talents. The historian Thucydides was the proprietor of a portion of the mines of Skaptê-Hylê, and wrote his history there. It is possible that a rent was also paid to the metropolis by the *klerouchoi* for the lands they had received from her.³

¹ The scorïæ left by the early miners are still rich enough to be again worked with profit.

² Painting on the bottom of a cup of the manufactory of Euphronios, now in the British Museum (*A Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, No. 882); from W. Klein, *Euphronios*, 2d edit., p. 98. The woman stands beside a man, who is seated on a low *kline*.

³ Ælian, *Hist. var.*, vi. 1.

2. Fines, costs, and confiscations. These receipts went very high, for Xenophon implies that they were enough to pay the salaries of the judges.

3. Customs. Taxes were levied at the *emporion*, where imports were sold in bulk, and in the market-place, where the retail traffic was carried on. All merchandise imported or exported by sea was, moreover, subject to a duty of one fiftieth, or two per



THE CHOREGEION.¹

cent, the *πεντηκοστή*,—always paid in silver, never in kind.² Cereals paid in importation about ten talents of raw product annually.³ Other merchandise, cattle, salted food, wine, oil, honey, metals, etc., paid more. It is probable that every vessel paid one per cent on the value of its cargo as port-dues, and that strangers

¹ Pompeian mosaic, from the *Museo Borbonico*, vol. ii. pl. 56. The *choregeion* was the place where the chorus and the actors met to rehearse. In this Pompeian mosaic are seen the actors and dancers in a chorus of satyrs, standing around an old man, who is the *χοροδιδάσκαλος*, or choir-master. The flute-player has his robe on and his wreath; in the background one of the actors is dressing, aided by a servant.

² This tax in the year 400 B. C., after the great disasters, still gave thirty-six talents to the State, and six to the farmer. This indicates transactions of a value of two thousand talents (Andokides, *Upon the Mysteries*, 23).

³ See Perrot, *Le commerce des céréales en Attique*, in the *Revue histor.* vol. iv (1877).

paid as much for the privilege of selling in the market. In respect to commerce by land, we have no facts.

The exportation of the products of the soil, and of materials needful in the construction and equipment of vessels, was prohibited. There was an exception made in respect to oil, of which larger quantities were made than were required for home consumption. The *sykophantai*, informers against the exporters of figs, have had as disgraceful notoriety as the Roman *delatores*.

We may regard as part of the customs the toll of ten per cent levied by Athens, at the passage of the Thracian Bosphoros, on the value of cargoes from the Euxine, by way of indemnity for the expense of guarding these seas from pirates.¹

4. The tax on strangers domiciled at Athens (*metoikoi*). This was twelve drachmas annually *per capita* for heads of families, and six for children. The widow of a *metoikos* paid six drachmas. All freedmen were further subjected to a tax of three obols, — probably the capitation levied upon each slave, and payable by his master. A special tax was also levied on courtesans. The *metoikos* who did not pay his tax was sold; but the condition of the *metoikoi* was different from that of the *isoteleis*, who, without enjoying political rights, were free from the tax on resident aliens, and could plead in the courts and transact business without the intervention of a patron (*προστάτης*).

5. The tributes of the allies. These amounted in 438 B.C. to six hundred talents, of which one sixtieth, one mina out of every talent, was devoted to Athene, guardian of the public treasure. In 425 B.C. this contribution was doubled, and on complaint of the allies there was substituted for it a duty of one twentieth, levied by Athenian customs-officers on merchandise which entered or left all the ports of the allied cities. This plan led to many abuses, and was soon abandoned. As early as the year 409 B.C. the question of levying the tributes was again under discussion.²

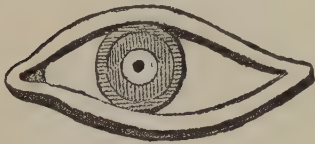
6. The civic tax. This was of two kinds, — the tax on property, levied only in cases of urgent necessity; and the *leitourgia*, a tax upon property connected with personal labor, due by those

¹ Demosthenes, *Against Leptines*, 60. This toll was re-established by Thrasyboulos after the battle of Aigos-Potamos (Xenophon, *Hellen.*, iv. 8, 27).

² Xenophon, *Hellen.*, i. 3, 9.

whose fortune exceeded three talents. Orphans under age were exempt from the *leitourgia*, but not from the civic tax. There were four principal *leitourgiai*,—the *choregia*, the providing and training of the choruses for festivals and dramatic performances;¹ the *gymnasiarchia*, the management of the gymnasia, which furnished athletes for the games and contests in the public festivals; the *hestiasis*, the entertaining at a banquet, at a man's own expense, one of the Athenian tribes; the *architheoria*, the leader of the annual religious embassy to Delos or Delphi.

In addition to these *leitourgiai*, which were called encyclic, or annual, there was also an extraordinary *leitourgia*, the *trierarchia*,



EYE OF TRIREME.²

which was an obligation imposed upon the richest citizens to provide for the armament and maintenance of the war-vessels of the State, which itself furnished the vessel and its rigging, and paid the sailors.

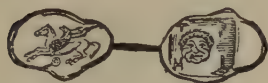
This tax on a man's income, on his capital even, lasted, for each trierarch, but one year, but recurred again after two years' interval. There were twelve hundred trierarchs, each of the ten tribes appointing a hundred and twenty; and near the close of the Peloponnesian war they were divided into twenty classes (*συμμορίαι*), each subdivided, according to property, into sections of from five to sixteen persons, each section supplying one galley, which was then commanded by one of the section. Demosthenes, in 340 B. C., further modified this arrangement, that it might not be too burdensome to the individual; but it still remained extremely onerous. A citizen designated for a *leitourgia* might throw it upon some other person, whom he asserted to be richer than himself, by offering to make a complete exchange of

¹ The law fixed a legal age, forty years, at which a man might serve as *choregos*; and other Athenian laws testify to a like scrupulousness. Cf. Aischines, *Against Timarchos* (*Oratores attici* of Didot, ii. 31).

² From E. Curtius and Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, i., *Athen und Peiræus*, p. 58. There have been found on the eastern shore of the harbor of Zea, plaques of Parian marble shaped like great eyes, which were evidently used to decorate the front of triremes. The eyes (*ὀφθαλμοί*) are more than once mentioned in inscriptions of the Athenian marine (*Corp. inscr. Attic.*, ii. 791; i. 68 and 75: *ὀφθαλμὸς κατέαγεν*, "the eye was broken." Cf. Böckh, *See-wesen*, p. 102). The dimensions of these marbles vary; they were painted, the iris with red and blue; in the centre of the pupil is a round hole through which was driven the nail, probably gilded, which secured the decoration to the vessel. These marble eyes are up to the present time the only fragments of an ancient trireme that we have.

property. This was the *ἀντίδοσις*.¹ The trierarch whose galley was ready first, received a wreath;² and there was much rivalry as to whose galley should be most elegantly decorated with carvings.³

We must not suppose that these burdens were a penalty of wealth, or that Athens respected wealth only so far as it gave the people work and amusements, furnished to the army its cavalry, and to the sailors ships whereon, with arms and breast, they might defend the power of the State. The *leitourgiai* had a religious and a patriotic character; for without them public worship would have been reduced to cold ceremonies, having but little influence upon the heart, and the edu-

DIOBOLOS.⁴TRIHEMIOBOLOS.⁵

cation of youth would have lacked that training which, in the citizen, prepared the soldier. They were not, then, the result of a fierce socialism, nor was their institution an

attempt to establish that equality which does not exist in nature, and could not be realized even in Sparta.⁶ The State being considered as the magnified family, and the rich as the elder mem-

¹ For further details as to the *ἀντίδοσις*, see Oration of Demosthenes *Against Phainippos*, and that of Isokrates *On the Antidosis*, with the learned introduction of E. Havet. A. Böckh, who is far from being friendly to the Athenian democracy, does not object to the *trierarchia*, the most expensive of all these *leitourgiai*, and the one which has called out the greater number of declamations against the Athenians. He also remarks that the inequality of fortunes was never great at Athens. We may add that this inequality, with its two-fold danger of creating a class too rich, often ambitious and servile, and a class too poor, servile also, and always ready for revolutions, began to be apparent only in the time of Demosthenes. This orator says, even, that citizens felt themselves rich enough when they had a capital of fifteen or twenty talents, and could give a dowry of a hundred minai to their daughters. Even after the Thirty Tyrants, there were not five thousand citizens without landed property (Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Lysias*, 32). In the best days of Athens there were few rich and few poor; it was the *aurea mediocritas* of Horace, good for the State and for the individual. Montesquieu approves the *leitourgiai*! The *syndikoi*, of later date, had the duty of defending the interests of the treasury, like the Roman *advocati fisci*.

² See, in the works of Demosthenes, the *Oration for the Trierarchic Crown*.

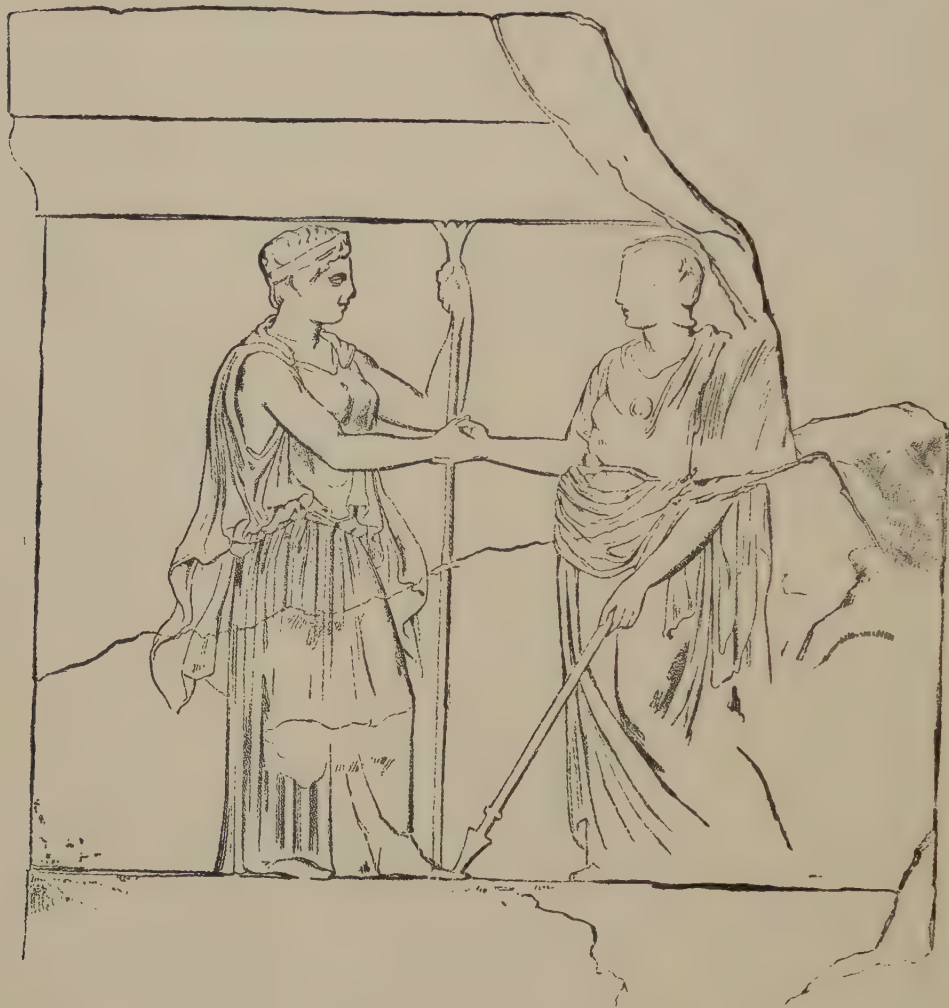
³ Thucydides, vi. 31.

⁴ ΔΙΟ. Pegasus galloping, front view. Reverse: Pegasus galloping to the left. (Silver. Corinthian coin of about the middle of the fifth century.)

⁵ Pegasus flying to the left; underneath, the koppa, initial of Corinth; in the field, a trident. Reverse: ΤΡΙΗ. Gorgon's head, front face; the whole in an incused square. (Corinthian coin of about the middle of the fifth century.)

⁶ These burdens imposed on wealth possibly were its salvation, in deterring the Athenian democracy from decreeing, as Solon did, an abolition of debts, or a depreciation of the currency. See Vol. I. p. 533.

bers of the household, they owed the State an assistance which the younger, that is to say, the poor, could not give it. This



HEADING OF AN INVENTORY PREPARED BY THE TREASURERS OF ATHENE AND OTHER DIVINITIES.¹

idea, that onerous offices must be reserved for the rich, was the keynote of the financial organization of the Greek cities; and it

¹ From R. Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, pl. x. No. 54. The inscription (*Corp. inscr. Att.*, ii. 643) begins thus: Τάδε οἱ ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ ἐπὶ Λάχητος ἀρχοντος . . . (400-399 B. C.). Athene standing at the left, her left hand leaning on her spear, grasps the hand of a woman of the same height with herself, who leans on a sceptre. This is neither a goddess nor the personified Council (βουλή), it is the personification of the College (ἀρχή) of Treasurers. See bas-reliefs represented earlier (Vol. I. p. 549, and p. 43 of this volume), representing Athene and Demos clasping hands.

was a general custom in classic antiquity.¹ In the *Fourth Philippic* Demosthenes says: "It is needful that in times of danger the rich offer their wealth to the State." They moreover found a compensation in these expenses: men were thus made conspicuous before the public, and were remembered on days of election.

7. Possessions of the gods. Lastly, the treasure of Athene on the Akropolis, and that of the other gods, was an important resource. In case of extreme need the State borrowed from the goddess, on conditions determined by a law of 435 B. C., which fixed the interest in such cases at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This domain of the gods increased with the empire of Athens, since each time a colony was founded, a tenth of the lands was reserved for the temples.³ Also the administration of this property was a very important office; the gods had their treasurers, who annually at the expiration of their term of office gave in their report to the Council of the Five Hundred, and transmitted to their successors a statement of all the property of which they had had charge. In the time of Perikles the treasurers of Athene and of the other gods formed two colleges, each of ten members, chosen annually, one from a tribe; later, about 400 B. C., they were united in one.⁴



THE
MUREX.²

Almost all the taxes were farmed out to individuals or companies, who made collection at their own risk. The tax of the fiftieth alone brought in thirty-six talents to the State, without counting the profits to the farmers, who made fortunes rapidly, and were despised, as their class has always been.

The market (*Emporion*) had six porches, of which one, the *Deigma* (the Sample), placed under the care of inspectors (*epimeletai*), was the meeting-place of merchants, like the Bourse of

¹ See *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, January, 1887, p. 57; and *History of Rome*, vi. 81-94.

² Engraved stone, found in Phœnicia (from Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, iii. 902).

³ Besides a sixtieth of the tribute of the allies, the revenue from her lands, the product of certain fines, the share which came to her from prizes, etc., Athene received also dues in kind on every death and birth, — a measure of barley, another of oats, and an obolos (Aristotle, *Econom.*, ii. 2).

⁴ *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, ii. 36 et seq. That which belonged to the gods was called *τὰ ἱερὰ χρίματα*; the revenue of the State was *τὰ ὄσια*. Likewise at Rome, *Res sacrae et res sanctae* (Dareste, *Plaidoyers politiques de Démosth.*, i. 172). As to this question of consecrated property, see Homolle, *Les archives et l'intendance sacrée à Délos*, 1887.

Paris. Here were kept samples of all the commodities brought into the docks, and upon them contracts were established.

In cases of disagreements between merchants, the inspectors decided; but where actual offences were charged, the heliasts were required. In these cases, the citizen who made an accusation received, if he gained his suit, one half of the sum paid; if he lost without obtaining one fifth of the suffrages, he paid a fine of one thousand drachmas.



WORKSHOP OF BRONZE FOUNDERS.¹

It is not possible to estimate precisely the public revenues of Athens. By some they are stated at one thousand talents; Aristophanes gives them at two thousand, but there can be no doubt that this is largely exaggerated. We may remember, however, that with the great building enterprises of Perikles there were left ninety-seven hundred talents in the treasury. Now, silver was worth eight or ten times more at that period than it now is, and perhaps the difference in value is even greater than that;²

¹ Fragment of a cup in the Museum of Berlin (A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 2,294), from Gerhard, *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*, pl. xii. and xiii. (cf. O. Jahn, in the *Berichte über die Verhandlung. der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1867, pp. 106 *et seq.*). At the left is a lighted furnace, on the top of which is placed a covered vessel, doubtless containing metal in fusion. A workman, seated at the right, pokes the fire, while a boy, behind the furnace, is using the bellows. A second workman stands waiting, leaning on his hammer. At the right, a third is hammering on a statue of bronze which has been run in separate pieces and put together; the head is still lying on the ground behind the earthen bed on which the figure is placed. On the wall are hung objects and tools of various kinds, — hammers of different shapes, a long straight saw, models of a foot, a hand, and, near the furnace, hanging from a pair of horns, two heads, male and female, four little painted clay tablets, and branches of foliage. Perhaps, as Jahn supposes (p. 107), these may be offerings, and the furnace of the workshop a sacred place, like the domestic hearth.

² Some writers place it much higher. To estimate the value of silver in the time of Perikles, they multiply by twelve the figures which the old authors give us. This is the estimate pro-

it was then a revenue nearly equal to that of some European kingdoms.

Another sign of public wealth, another resource for the State, was the wealth of individuals. For all, prosperity had increased, and for some, it was already too great. In Solon's time a fortune of seven talents was considered very large. In the time of Kimon, the wealthy Kallias paid a fine of fifty talents without impoverishing himself; Themistokles had twice or thrice as much; Nikias had a hundred tal-



ASSARION OF CHIOS.¹



DOUBLE ASSARION OF CHIOS.²

ents, like Alkibiades, and more than a thousand slaves, who labored for him in the mines. If war emptied the public treasury, individuals then were able to refill it; and we have seen that the government had no hesitation in ask-

ing from those who were able to give.

These fortunes did not consist in lands, for Attika, like all the rest of Greece, was a country of petty agriculture and petty ownership. The domains of Alkibiades, which did not exceed seventy acres, were regarded as very extensive, and the entire country of Attika scarcely furnished in wheat two thirds of what the population consumed. Wealth was derived from commerce, handicrafts, and banking, which distributed it among a great number of citizens; and it was so divided that Isokrates could say: "There is no person who is poor enough to disgrace the State by mendicity."³

posed by J. B. Say, founding it on the price of corn at that period. But by the inscription mentioned on p. 681, n. 3, we see that daily wages were a drachma, or about eighteen cents, which, multiplied by three or four, would give the average value of day-labor in France at the present time. And these would be too large multipliers applied to the three obols daily of the public slave, furnished him for his food. The problem of the relative value of money is nearly insoluble. Even in France and at the present day, is a five-franc piece worth as much in Paris as it is in Brittany?

¹ ACCAPION. Amphora; on the obverse a star. Reverse: ΧΙΩΝ. Sphinx, with lifted paw, over a bunch of grapes; under, a club. (Bronze.)

² ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΠΟΧΡΕΜΑ. Dionysos, standing, with ivy-wreath, holding a thyrsos and a kantharos; in the field, two letters, a mint-mark. Reverse: ΑCΑCΑΠΙΑ ΔΥΟ. Sphinx, with lifted paw, over a vessel's prow. (Bronze.)

³ Isokrates, *Areop.*, 38; Böckh, book iv. ch. iii.

Athens did not share in the contempt of Sparta for the labor of the hands. She had flourishing industries, and like the *articles de Paris* of our time, her weapons, her work in metal, her furniture, her leather manufactures were preferred in every market; her potteries were sent as far as Gades; her works of art, books, and woven materials, to every civilized country. As imports, she received the fish and wine of the islands; Tyrian glass and purple; the tin which Phœnician ship-owners went to seek in far



TRIPLE ASSARION OF CHIOS.¹

countries; the papyrus of Egypt; the gold, iron, wool, and woven fabrics of the Asiatic coast; the cereals, leathers, tar, ropes, timber, and numerous slaves, bought on the shores of the Hellespont and the Euxine.

Commerce, protected in all the Greek waters by the fleet, was so flourishing that Isokrates calls Peiraieus "the market of all Greece." And it was so, not only by the habits of the merchants, but in virtue of laws and treaties. The allies had engaged to send certain articles of merchandise nowhere else than to this port, and it was required that all vessels of Athenian owners clearing from Peiraieus should bring back thither a cargo. Athens had also another advantage, — an excellent coinage, highly esteemed in all countries. "In most cities," says Xenophon, "coin has only a local value, and merchants are obliged to resort to barter. Athens is an exception; her drachmas are current everywhere."² To maintain the credit of her coinage, she punished the counterfeiter with death.³ Also transactions in silver were frequent. There were joint-stock companies, and those who loaned money and received dividends. Bankers made advances on deposit of securities or of objects of value; they had their books, in which were entered receipts and payments, their

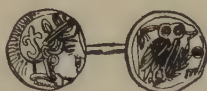
¹ ΧΙΩΝ. Apollo and Dionysos standing, one on each side of an altar. The former holds a bow and a patera; the latter a thyrsos and a kantharos. Reverse: ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΤΡΙΑ. Sphinx, with lifted paw, over a prow. (Bronze.)

² *Revenues of Attika*, 3.

³ Demosthenes, *Against Timokrates*, 213.



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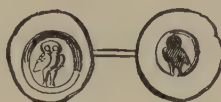
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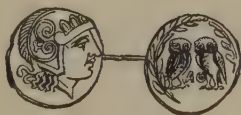
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GOLD.

Gold coinage. — The gold coins, first struck at Athens about the year 430 B.C., are the following : —

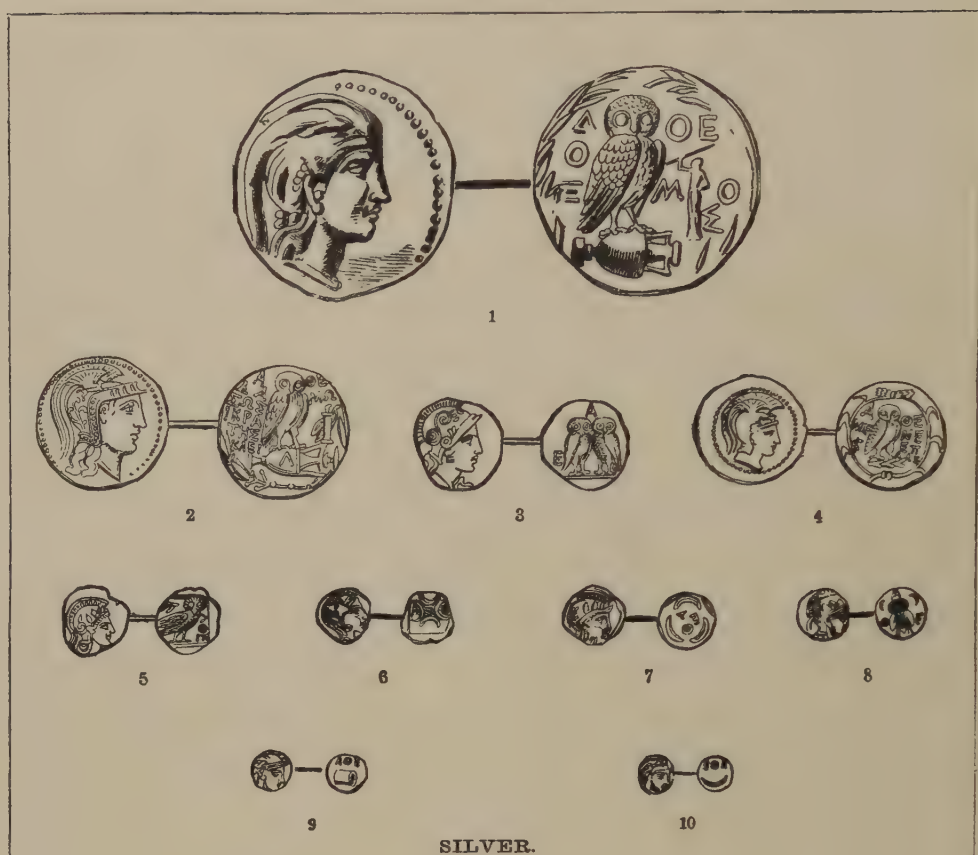
	Grammes
Chryseos, or stater ¹ (No. 1). Standard weight, according to Beulé	8.60
Hemi-chryseos, or half-stater (No. 2)	4.30
Third of a stater (τρίτη)	2.88
Fourth of a stater (τετάρτη) (No. 3)	2.15
Hekte, sixth of a stater (No. 4). See <i>Bull. de Corr. hellén.</i> , vi. 210	1.44
Demi-hekte (ἡμιέκτη), or gold obolos (No. 5)	0.72
Three eighths of a hekte	0.54
Quarter-hekte, or half-obolos of gold (No. 6)	0.36
Eighth of hekte (No. 7)	0.18
Sixteenth of hekte (No. 8)	0.09

¹ [The average weight of the Attic stater, according to Smith, is 132.5875 grains. — Ed.]



BRONZE.

Bronze coinage. — The coinage of bronze was begun at Athens in the archonship of Kallias, in the year 406 B.C. These coins bore on the face the helmeted head of Athene, and on the reverse the legend ΑΘΕ, with one or two owls in an olive-wreath.



SILVER.

Silver coinage.—The silver coins in circulation in Athens at the close of the fifth and during the fourth centuries B. C. are the following:—

	Grammes
Tetradrachm (No. 1). Standard weight, according to Beulé	17.20
Drachma (No. 2)	4.30
Tetrobolon (No. 3)	2.88
Hemidrachma, or triobolon (No. 4)	2.15
Diobolon	1.44
Obolos (No. 5)	0.72
Tritemorion, three quarters of an obolos (No. 6)	0.54
Pentechalkon, five eighths of an obolos (No. 7)	0.45
Hemiobolon (No. 8)	0.36
Trihemitartemorion, three eighths of an obolos (No. 9)	0.27
Tartemorion, a quarter-obolos (No. 10)	0.18
Hemitartemorion	0.09

[The weight of the principal silver coins of Attika, according to Leake, is as follows: tetradrachm, 270.0 grains Troy; drachma, 67.5; tetrobolon, 45.0; triobolon, 33.75; diobolon, 22.5; obolos, 11.25; tritemorion, 8.45; hemiobolon, 5.42; tartemorion, 2.8. — ED.]

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL ATHENIAN SILVER COINS OF THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES B. C.

correspondence, and if not letters of exchange, they had at least checks. Without having an official character, the bankers were the depositaries of acts and contracts. They lent to the cities, and took shares in government loans.¹ To this we should add that the tax levied by the State was only two per cent *ad valo-*

CROWNED CONQUEROR.²

rem; that its tribunals of commerce decided all suits during the winter; that the severity of legislation as to debts guaranteed the execution of contracts;³ that, finally, the high price of silver, which was lent sometimes at eighteen per cent, and even more, permitted capitalists rapidly to increase their fortunes.

¹ G. Perrot, *Le commerce de l'argent à Athènes*. The current interest was one per cent a month, and in certain cases one and a half; in maritime advances, it was without legal limit.

² Vase-painting (from Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, pl. 275). This figure is entirely nude; the myrtle-wreath on his head, and the fillets on his arm and leg, show that he has just gained a victory. On his left arm hangs, in a bag, a little vase containing oil, and to the right arm is attached a hare, — probably a love-gift. The conqueror extends his hand to take a wreath which is offered him by another young man who is standing before him, and, like himself, wears a wreath of myrtle.

³ I note, in passing, that contracts of rent were the same at Athens as with us.

But what use was to be made of this power and wealth? When Perikles returned from Samos to Athens, after the reduction of the island, he delivered a funeral oration over the soldiers who had fallen in that war. His words roused such enthusiasm in the multitude that when he came down from the bema, the Athenian women vied with each other in decorating him with garlands, as the victorious athlete, returning from Olympia, was wreathed with flowers. But Elpinike, we are told, reproached him bitterly with causing the death of many good Athenian citizens in war, not against Medes, Phœnicians, and other foreign nations, but waged upon men of their own blood, and bound to them by treaties.

Her words show the change that had taken place within a few years in the government of Athens. Perikles gave no further attention to the Barbarians, who were now banished from all

BRONZE COIN.¹BRONZE COIN.²

Greek waters, and whom he had no reason for seeking in their Asiatic home; and he severely reproved those who were

beginning to talk of conquering Egypt or of attacking Sicily. Like that sagacious Roman who prayed the gods not that they would augment the fortune of Rome, but that they would maintain it as it was, he deemed it wiser to employ the resources of Athens in preserving rather than in extending her possessions,—to turn to advantage in ways of peace the strength that was now no longer required. To the genius of commerce and of arts, Athens now consecrated these seas no longer infested by pirates, and these cities over which she extended her powerful protection. Sheltered by this ægis, the Greek people gave themselves up to the fruitful labors of civilization, guided in this direction also by the noble city which had become their leader. For Athens the time of foolish undertakings had not arrived. Devoting her whole attention to art, literature, and commerce, she had renounced the aggressive policy of Kimon, and had not yet adopted the adven-

¹ Dichalkon of Chios (ΔΙΚΑΛΚΟΝ). Amphora between two stars. Reverse: XION. Sphinx, to the right, laying a paw on the prow of a vessel.

² Tetrachalkon of Chios (ΤΕΤΡΑΧΑΛΚΟΝ). Bunch of grapes. Reverse: XION. Sphinx, to the left, laying a paw upon the prow of a vessel.

turous policy of Alkibiades. Herein lies the beauty of this period in the life of the Athenian people, and the greatness of Perikles, who presided over a prosperity at once so honorable and so peaceful.

But this fortunate condition could not last. The State did not rest on a base which was broad enough for it, and the cords which united all parts of the empire were too tightly strained not to wound. The taxes laid on the allies, their forced relinquishment of part of their lands to Athenian colonists, and the obligation to carry certain of their suits into Athenian courts and a portion of their merchandise to Peiræus, constituted a triple servitude, financial, judicial, and commercial, which could not fail to cause the smothered anger which later burst forth during the Peloponnesian war.

III. — THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION.

THE constitution of Athens assumed in the time of Perikles the form which it retained until the latest period of the city's independence. Two principles were at its foundation: one, the sovereign right of the people, who exercise legislative, judicial, and administrative functions, or at least determine the direction which the executive power shall take; the other, the annual change in the magistracies, filled by election or by lot.

Democracy, which to-day repeats the words of Louis XIV., *L'Etat, c'est moi*, had naturally among the ancients put that doctrine in practice; for in the case of small States surrounded with dangers, security could only be found in a vigorous centralization. The liberty, property, and life of the citizens—law, justice, and morals—were all subordinated to the interests of the State; and the Roman formula, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, seems to have been made for the Greek States. It has already been said¹ that no surprise should be felt in finding at Athens customs which appear to liberal minds singularly vexatious, such as the *leitourgia*,—a heavy tax laid upon wealth. To the State

¹ See above, pp. 605–607.

the poor man gave, at need, his life; it was equitable that the rich should give his fortune; and against this requirement, which dates from the time of Solon and even earlier, no one protested, except in cases where, instead of being a patriotic obligation, it was made a means of vengeance against some Eupatrid whom his enemies were seeking to ruin. Herodotos admires the government of Athens.¹ Not so Plato: "Consumed with a burning thirst for liberty, which evil cup-bearers pour out undiluted and give her to drink even to intoxication, the democratic State, by general license, arrives at slavery; extremes of liberty must sooner or later bring the extreme of servitude."² But although Plato speaks truly in respect to certain periods of the democratic life, we must prefer, for an opinion as to the Athenian constitution in the time of Perikles, the verdict of the historian who had seen and compared so many different forms of government, to that of the philosopher who was the friend of the younger Dionysios and of the aristocratic party. It was the wise Aristeides who made public office accessible to all the citizens,—a principle which underlies the *Politics* of Aristotle; it was Ephialtes who despoiled the Areiopagos, the headquarters of aristocratic factiousness, of its most important prerogatives, without, however, depriving it of the public respect. A century later, Demosthenes says: "This tribunal is the only one from which cases of murder have not been taken away; and never did unsuccessful prosecutor or condemned criminal accuse the Areiopagos of injustice."³ In his *Oration on the Crown*, he further mentions these two facts: An exile returns illegally into the city; the people, persuaded by his ingenious plea, absolve him from wrong-doing in this return; the Areiopagos takes up the matter and condemns the offender. On another occasion the people designate as deputy to the Amphiktyonic Council the orator Aischines, whose integrity is doubtful: the Areiopagos declares that Hyperides is a more suitable person; and the people, accepting the reproof and the new choice, make Hyperides their deputy.⁴

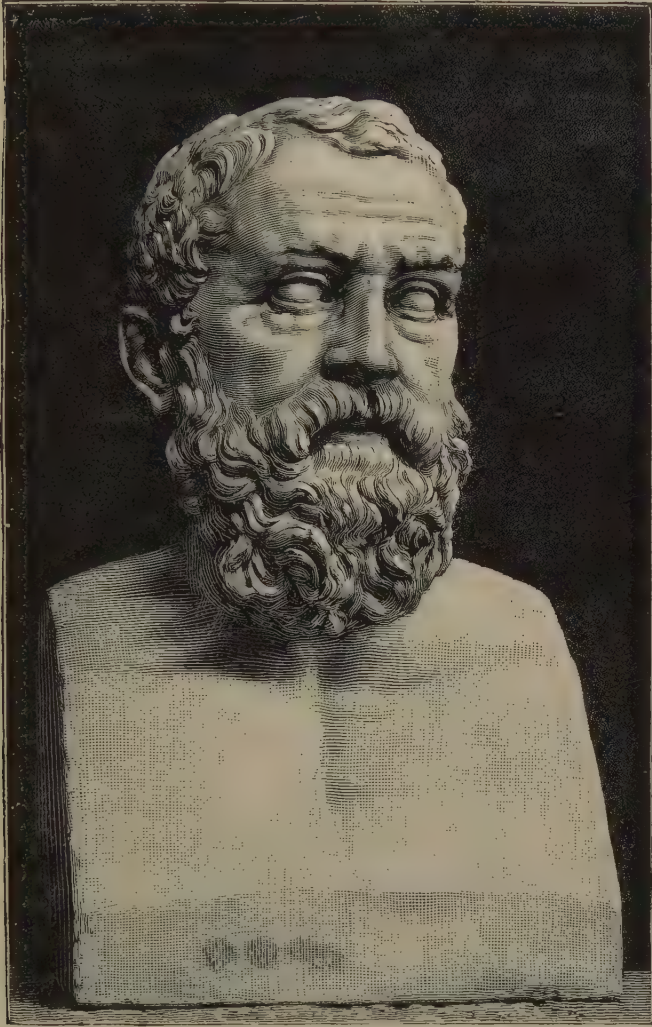
¹ See above, p. 520.

² In book viii. of *The Republic*.

³ *Against Aristokrates*, 66.

⁴ This moral authority of the Areiopagos was of long duration. Aulus Gellius (xii. 7) relates that Dolabella, a proconsul of Asia, sent to the Areiopagites of Athens a woman of Smyrna accused as a poisoner, *ut ad iudices graviores exercitatioresque*.

Still more democratic than election by universal suffrage is designation by lot; for offices open to all, still are rarely given by the people to any other than their great men, as was the case at



SOLON.¹

Rome after the creation of the military tribuneship. We do not know at what period this appeal to chance was instituted. Plutarch speaks of it as ancient, and we know it was employed in the time of Solon, of Kleisthenes, and of Aristeides. The lots were

¹ Marble bust in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph). The identification of this bust is not positive. See Vol. I. p. 578.

drawn in the temple of Theseus by the *thesmothetai*.¹ We are surprised and shocked to see pilots thus chosen by accident; but this proceeding, disastrous in a great State or even in a great city, was without danger in a little city whose population was in reality an aristocracy,² where each citizen had an actual share in the sovereignty, and every day received a political training in the discussions of the Agora or the debates in the courts. Moreover, the most important functions were excepted from this general method. The ten *strategoi*, who regulated all military affairs and foreign policy, who even could prevent the meeting of the assembly or could break it up,—who were, in a word, the true magistrates of the city,—were always elected.³ The same was the case in Florence during the Middle Ages, where all offices were drawn by lot except those of the Commission of War, which remained elective. The archons and senators were selected by lot from among those who had publicly announced themselves as candidates for these offices, which could not have been a long list; cases even were not infrequent where all other candidates gave way before a citizen whose services pointed him out to the general confidence. Also we may note that on presenting their names, the candidates were obliged to undergo an examination (*δοκιμασία*), of which the result might be a sentence of unworthiness;⁴ that at the expiration of their office, they had to render account, any citizen having a right to demand it from them; that during their term of office they were under the supervision

¹ Two urns were placed before these officers, one urn containing white and colored beans; the other, the names of candidates. The successful candidate was the one whose name was drawn at the same time with a white bean.

² See above, p. 568.

³ In respect to these magistrates, see Hauvette-Besnault, *Les stratèges athéniens*, 1884. The commissioners for any fixed case were elected by show of hands (*ἐπιχειροτονία*). In these instances the president of the assembly prepared a list of candidates, and the choice among them was made by vote.

⁴ Fustel de Coulanges, in his paper on *Tirage au sort*, gives a list of the questions addressed to the candidate in the examination called *dokimasia*. He was asked: (1) if his ancestors were Athenians for three generations both on the father's and mother's side; (2) if he possessed altars of Apollo (*πατρώος*) and of Zeus (*ἑρκείος*),—that is to say, the domestic religion of the ancient families, and the cult of landed property; (3) if he honored his ancestors, had a family tomb, and regularly offered sacrifices there; (4) if he had made all the campaigns required by law; (5) if he possessed taxable capital, and paid taxes upon land,—a clause which excluded poor citizens. Proofs of intelligence and political capacity were not asked for, but the candidate was obliged to show that he belonged to an ancient and wealthy family.

of the *nomophylakoi*,¹ who had the right to constrain them to act in accordance with the laws; and finally that, the appointment to office being made by lot, and canvassing thus suppressed,

BRONZE COIN.²

ambitious men lost their most powerful means of action, and it was difficult for the government to fall into the hands of a party; and a religious idea was also attached to this designation, —the lot seemed to indicate the will of the gods. With the means at their

command, it was not possible for the ancients to obtain the votes of a large electoral body, like that of the Agora, in any other way than by show of hands on names proposed by the president of the assembly. In this way votes were given at Athens in the case of the elective magistracies, and thus the influence of the president became very great, the choice being usually determined by him. A selection by lot was therefore really more in the interests of liberty, and the part left to chance was so restricted that no great harm could possibly be done. Accordingly, Herodotos and Plato approve of this system,⁴ which Aristotle and Montesquieu regard as of the very essence of democracy.⁵ “At Heraia, a city of

TRIBOLOS.³

These questions show the religious and aristocratic character of the institution. We may further add that misconduct, personal deformity, or an unpaid debt to the public treasury prevented any man from becoming archon, and even from speaking in the assembly. It was the *ἀρμία*. Cf. Aischines, *Against Timarchos*.

¹ See above, p. 548.

² Personification of the senate (IEPA ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ). Diademed bust of the Genius of the senate, right profile. Reverse: ANTIOXEΩΝ. Fortune, standing, holding a cornucopia and a rudder, under a tetrastyle portico. Coin of the city of Antioch in Karia.

³ Veiled head of Here, left profile. Reverse: EPA, between two wavy lines, edged with dots. The whole in an incused square. Coin of Heraia.

⁴ Herodotos, iii. 80; Plato, *Laws*, book vi.

⁵ Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, vol. ii. chap. ii. Aristotle, *Politics*, vi. 5, says: “It is good that public offices be assigned, some by lot, others by vote. The former opens to all men an honorable career, the latter gives the State good magistrates. Curtius regards selection by lot as the only means of destroying the spirit of faction, and adds (i. 314): “Für die bewegte Zeit des Kleisthenes gab es keine segensreichere Einrichtung als die Loosurne. Sie hatte eine beruhigende und versöhnende Macht. Das Loos war etwas den griechischen Göttern genehmes; durch das Loos liess man die Götter entscheiden, welche über dem Wohle der Stadt wachten.” Many writers have thought that a choice by lot was very ancient (Plutarch, *Perikles*, 1 and 9), but that only names of men of high family were put in the urn. This is possible, since Deme-

Arkadia," says Aristotle, "voting for magistrates was abolished, and they were selected by lot, for election had hitherto given the authority only to makers of disorder."¹ At Rhodes the priest of the Sun was chosen by lot;² at Syracuse all the magistrates were thus selected after the Athenian expedition. The same method was employed in the distribution of charity, which with us is a matter of



THE RISING OF THE SUN (HELIOS).³

careful choice. Three inscriptions, recently discovered, mention legacies made to the senate of Aphrodisias, to be distributed among two hundred citizens chosen by lot.⁴ One of the most vital sentiments in Greece, at Athens especially, was that of equality. Herodotos tells us this.⁵ The importance in many places given to designation by lot makes it even more manifest. But we must hasten to recognize the fact that this singular electoral system is possible only in

trios of Phaleros asserts it. However, I cannot doubt that when the people needed a man of ability to conduct their affairs in critical moments, they by some means gave him the authority. We need not attribute to the men of those times constitutional scruples which we ourselves do not possess.

¹ Ἡποῦντο τοὺς ἐριθενομένους (*Politics*, v. 2, 9).

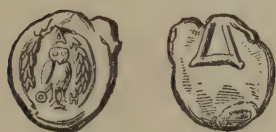
² *Bull. de Corr. hellén.* (1885), p. 99.

³ Vase-painting (from T. Panofka, *Musee Blacas*, pl. 17). Helios, young, beardless, with radiate head, rises from the waves in a chariot drawn by four winged horses. At sight of the god the stars of night, under the form of nude boys, plunge precipitately into the sea (cf. *Iliad*, v. 6); only the morning-star, standing erect under the horses' feet, sinks slowly.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁵ See above, p. 520.

very petty States where there is no hungry crowd, and all the citizens, having about the same mental culture, could, without serious inconvenience, be called to certain public functions. At Athens, to persons thus selected were assigned only inferior offices. The archons and the senate, deprived of their judicial authority, inflicted only fines of small sums, and the Areiopagos had its former jurisdiction only in certain cases of homicide.² As all military and political authority had passed to the *strategoi*, so almost all civil and criminal jurisdiction was given to the five thousand heliasts,³ who

BRONZE COIN.¹LEADEN TOKEN.⁴

were divided into ten sections, drawn by lot for every case, which rendered venality impossible; sometimes many thousands in number, which prevented intimidation; and with secret vote, which did not, indeed, hinder the condemned person from cursing his judges, but certainly prevented him from taking revenge on any. The archon who had been the examining magistrate in the case presided over the court. Thus came into exercise the great principle of the division of authority, which Rome and the mediæval period never recognized.⁵

To propose laws was the prerogative of any citizen, on condition of severe responsibility. Before presenting a new law, an orator was obliged to examine carefully to see that it was not in

¹ The senate personified (BOYAH). Female head, laurelled and veiled, right profile. Reverse: KIBYPATON, in three lines surrounded by a laurel-wreath. Coin of Kibyra in Phrygia.

² As it was impossible to call together five hundred heliasts to judge in minor cases, there were appointed in the tribes forty *diatetai*, magistrates or arbitrators, who went through the *demoi* and decided cases where not over ten drachmas were involved. The magistrates could also impose fines to the amount of fifty drachmas; the senate to the amount of five hundred.

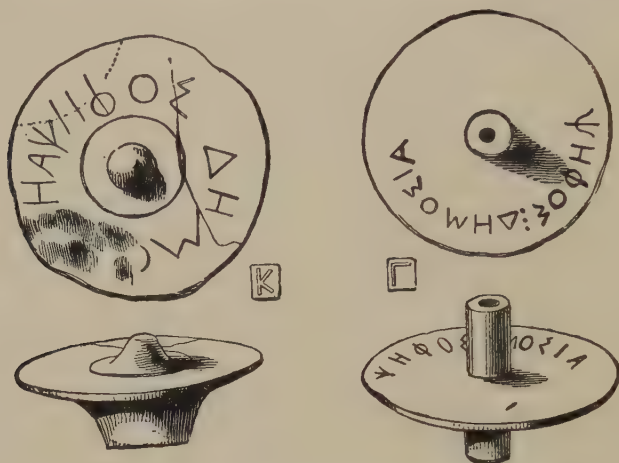
³ Aristophanes, in *The Wasps* (662), speaks of six thousand heliasts, including the extra thousand in reserve to fill vacancies. Before the arguments began, the heliasts took an oath that they would impartially listen to both sides.

⁴ Leaden tessera (from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. viii. pl. 32, No. 57). On the obverse, an owl in a laurel-wreath. ΑΘΕ. On the reverse the letter Δ, indicating the section to which the bearer belonged. (See tablets of heliasts represented, Vol. I. p. 547.) The heliast exchanged this tessera for his daily salary (*μισθός δικαστικός*.)

⁵ It was not till a very late period that Rome seriously effected a separation between civil and military powers.

contradiction with any law already existing; or if such contradiction existed, he must know it, and obtain the necessary change, so that the unity of legislation should be maintained. If he neglected these precautions, he might be prosecuted, and receive severe punishment.

We have already mentioned the guardians of the laws, the seven *nomophylakes*, whose office was established after the reform



ATHENIAN BALLOTS.¹

of the Areiopagos by Ephialtes, and who had a right of veto against acts and propositions which were contrary to existing laws. This was what may be called the conservative force of the Athenian community.

Athens had many other public officers. Some had charge of the sacred buildings; others watched over the public order in the city and the markets, the verification of weights and measures,

¹ From the *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1862, tab. 46; and W. Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii p. 288, pl. 15. (Cf. *Annali dell' Inst. archeol.*, 1861, p. 388, *tav. d'agg.* M. G.) "The ballots were of bronze, with a little shank in the centre; in some this shank was solid, in others it was hollow." This description by Aristotle, quoted by Harpokration (*s. v.* *Τετραπημένῃ*), corresponds perfectly with the representation given above; these disks moreover bear the inscription *ψηφός δημοσία*, — ballot of the public vote. Aristotle says that after the arguments on both sides had been heard, two ballots were given to each judge, one pierced, the other whole: the former indicated condemnation, the latter acquittal; and in depositing it, the judge held it in such a way that no one could see of which kind it was. The K and the Γ engraved on the other face of the circular disk are perhaps letters indicating the series, like those we have seen on the leaden tessera and the heliasts' tablets; but two of the ballots bear the letter M(40), which manifestly cannot designate a section of the heliasts. See *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. xi. (1887) p. 210.

matters connected with the tithes, etc., — *astynomoi*, *agoranomoi*, *demarchoi*; the latter aided by the *agronomoi*, keepers, and *hyloroi*, foresters. Forty magistrates, *δικασταὶ κατὰ δήμους*, decided cases which were not carried to Athens. All these functionaries were designated by lot, but were subjected before entering upon office to the *dokimasia*. The judicial organization of Athens was com-



THE PEOPLE AND THE COUNCIL PERSONIFIED.¹

pleted by the tribunals of commerce, by arbiters which the parties selected and paid, *diatetai*, and by the ancient court of the *ephetai*, whose jurisdiction,² renewed in 409 B. C., was still in force in the time of Demosthenes.³

In the mechanical world, engineers increase the strength of the controlling agency, as they augment the force of the machine. So it should be in the political world. But while matter is obedient to science, statesmen obey passion more readily than wisdom. However, at Athens, notwithstanding the changes made by Kleis-

¹ Bas-relief carved at the head of an honorary decree, of which we have only two letters of the first line: ΘΕ[οί] (from Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, pl. xvi. No. 75). In presence of Athene, who stands at the left, holding a wreath, the Council personified (*βουλή*) and the People crown the person in whose honor the decree is issued.

² See Vol. I. p. 521.

³ *C. I. A.*, vol. i. No. 61.

thenes, Ephialtes, and Aristides, the constitution retained much of the conservative force given it by Solon.

The legislative power belonged to the general assembly, which met two or three times a month, and in the time of Demosthenes four times in each prytany.¹ But by how many bonds had that democracy bound itself which it has been usual to represent as so fickle and mobile!² At first it could vote only on a proposition of the senate,³ or Council of Five Hundred, which determined what is now called the order of the day;⁵

LEADEN TOKEN.⁴

and if a change was desired in any law, it was necessary to refer the matter to the *nomothetai*, a legislative committee,⁶ so that the judicial body of heliasts, who applied the law, and from whom the *nomothetai* were selected, exercised its influence upon the law itself, and could put a stop to the errors or rashness of the general assembly. Hence, to slip in illegally among the heliasts was to usurp a sovereign right. Pyrrhos, a member of one of the noblest families of Athens, the Eteoboutadai, but a debtor to the treas-

THE PEOPLE PERSONIFIED.⁷

¹ The prytany, a tenth part of the year, was from thirty-five to thirty-six days in length. The debtor to the State who had not paid his dues by the end of the ninth prytany was imprisoned (Demosthenes *Against Timokrates*, 40).

² As to these delays, see Demosthenes' *Oration on the Embassy*, 186.

³ This restriction was afterwards removed or fell into disuse, as is proved by examples which Schömann gives, *De Comitibus Atheniensium*, p. 98; but when did this occur? We know not. The most ancient example is of the year 405 (Xenophon, *Hellenics*, i. 7).

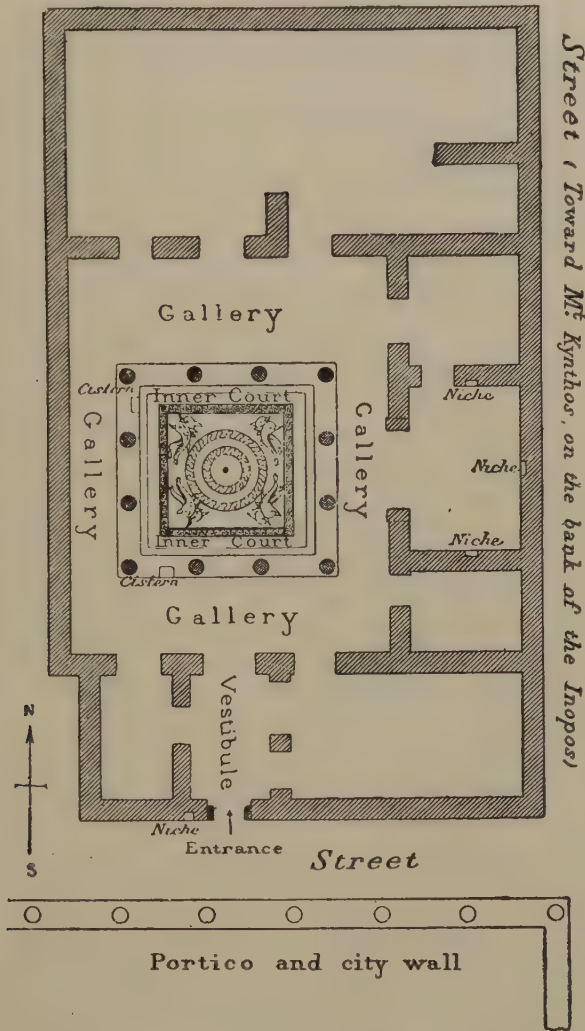
⁴ Leaden tesserae, from O. Benndorf, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des attischen Theaters*, No. 39, and the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. viii. pl. 32, No. 281. 1. Figure of a man standing to the left with the chlamys, helmet, shield, and spear; in the field: ΠΡΥ[τανεί]Α. 2. Shield, on whose edge are placed two owls, diametrically opposite each other; in the field: ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΑ (Πρυτανεία). These are tokens of presence that the prytaneis exchanged for his day's pay (μισθὸς βουλευτικός), which was a drachma.

⁵ The senate was composed annually of five hundred citizens over thirty years of age, who were designated by lot, fifty from each of the ten tribes. This body having a right of supervision over the entire administration, it was before the senate that candidates for public office underwent the *dokimasia*, or perhaps, for certain offices, before the heliasts, as was the case in the time of Demosthenes (*Against Boitos* and *Against Timarchos*). The twenty-eight senators of Sparta were called "masters" (δεσπόται), — a word which Athenian ears would not have endured.

⁶ See Vol. I. chap. ix. § v. Demosthenes (*Against Timarchos*, 27) says that to examine a proposed law a thousand *nomothetai* were appointed. (See later, *ad ann.* 403.) For other cases they were much less numerous. (See Andokides, *On the Mysteries*, 84.)

⁷ ΔΗΜΟC. Laureled, beardless head on the obverse. Reverse: ΚΑΙC ΚΙΒΥΡΑΤΩΝ.

ury, and on that account suffering under *atimia* (a loss of civil rights), being discovered seated among the judges, was seized and put to death.¹



GREEK HOUSE AT DELOS.²

Military successes have often proved fatal to liberty. How often, as the Roman general said, has the clash of arms drowned

Zeus Serapis seated to the left on a throne, and leaning on a javelin; at his feet an eagle. (Bronze coin of Kibyra, which assumes the title *Cæsareia* (*KAI* *C[æ]sarea*)), probably in honor of Augustus.)

¹ Demosthenes, *Against Midias*, 182.

² Plan of a Greek house of the second century B.C.; from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. (1884) pl. 21 (P. Paris). The house is of oblong shape, 92 feet by 61, of regular outline, except at the southwest corner, where there is a recess. The door, about five feet wide, opens

the outcry of the injured law! The popular victories at Marathon, Salamis, and Mykale, on the contrary, extended the public liberties. It was under their influence, and under the direction of Aristides, Ephialtes, and especially Perikles, that the constitution was transformed, and became at once so free and so well-balanced, — an image of the soul of him who gave it this great character; of the mighty and reserved orator, of the prudent and innovating statesman: a vast yet self-controlled force.

Perikles knew that in souls of a mean order poverty debases and degrades;¹ that it instigates tumult, putting into the heart of him who has nothing, hate and envy against those who have; that, lastly, it furnishes the rich with the means of buying up partisans, by gifts bestowed for selfish ends. He therefore strove to have every citizen possess a livelihood. The poorest were sent away as colonists, and became landowners in the new country.² Those who remained in the city found ample support in laboring in the arsenals and the public works with which Perikles adorned the city; in the extensive commerce of which Athens was the centre; in the pay of an obolos *per diem* which the judges received,³ and all who attended the assembly; and lastly, in the military

in the southern wall, and gives access to a vestibule with white mosaic floor, into which two rooms open, — a small room on the western side, and one much larger and with two doors, on the eastern. From the vestibule and also from these two rooms there is access to the gallery, in the centre of which is a square court with mosaic pavement, and surrounded with columns. This court is built over a central reservoir hermetically sealed, and is in a degree cooled by this body of water. In the stylobate there are also two cisterns, of which one, at the western corner, may have served as a cellar. Opposite, on the eastern side of the house, is a beautiful hall, with a door almost nine feet in width, opening into the gallery, and another into a smaller adjacent room. The arrangement of the northern part of the house is less certain. An examination of the broken stones lying on the floor of the house leads to the conjecture that a second peristyle was built above the first, and consequently that the house had a second story. Plainly it was the abode of people of wealth. It was paved throughout with white mosaic, except the inner court, where the mosaic was party-colored. The walls, it is true, were of rough rubble and mortar, but the whole interior was lined with stucco in light blue, pink, or yellow. Marble was also used in various places, especially in the decoration of the great hall which looks into the interior court. This was the most ornamented and also the best-lighted room in the house, for there were, it is evident, no windows, and all the light came from the court. We may remark that in the time of Perikles there was no house in Athens so sumptuous as this.

¹ Franklin says vigorously: "An empty bag cannot stand upright."

² Plutarch asserts this (*Perikles*, 11), and the decree for the establishment of the colony of Brea, between 444 and 440 B. C., proves it. We find that the colonists were to be taken from the last two classes, the *thetes* and the *zeugitai* (*Corp. inscr. Attic.*, vol. i. 31 B.).

³ Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 10. As the young men were called away on military duty, it was for the most part the old men who served on the tribunals.

service, which was well recompensed. In the mild climate of Attika, the cost of clothing, food, and lodging was much less than in more northern regions. Every year a squadron of sixty

ATTIC DIDRACHM.¹

galleys was kept on a war-footing for eight months, and garrisons were established in many posts. The foot-soldier received two obols a day as pay, and as much more for provision-money; officers received twice as much; cavalry-men three times, and

generals four times as much. Gratuitous distributions of wheat (but not periodically made, as at Rome), and sacrifices offered at the State's expense, where at times as many as three hundred oxen and five hundred goats were slaughtered, gave the people assistance, without feeding them in idleness. Two things we find in Athens only, of all the cities of antiquity; namely, the State supported citizens who, by age or illness, were unable to provide for themselves,³ and maintained the children of those who had given their lives for their country.

ATTIC TETRADRACHM.²

Among these measures, that of allotting pay to the judges

¹ Head of Athene, right profile, as on coins of Athens. Reverse: ΑΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ. Pheneos, armed with a sling, throwing a stone to the right: his sword hangs at his side, and two javelins are at his feet: ΑΜΕΜΜΗΙΤΟΣ is a name of a local magistrate. (Coin of the Ainianes of Thessaly. British Museum.)

² Helmeted head of Pallas Athene, right profile. Reverse: ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ. Owl standing on an amphora. In the field, the labyrinth, as symbol. The types of this coin of Knossos in Krete are imitated from those of the Athenian tetradrachms.

³ Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 6; Lysias, *περὶ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου*. The senate examined applications, and the assembly made the apportionment; payment was made by the prytany; and at each prytany the senate made a new examination. (Cf. Böckh, vol. ii. chap. xvii.) This charity, at first an obol daily, later became two obols. The judges received no more. When, on the approach of Xerxes, the Athenians took refuge at Troizen, that city allotted them for their support an obol daily (Plutarch, *Themist.*, 10). An obolos was about equal to three cents of our money. Accordingly, one of the most pressing anxieties of the Athenian government was to keep the price of food as low as possible. The Athenian vessel which had loaded with wheat in the Crimea was not at liberty to seek the best market for it; the cargo must be landed at Peiraieus.

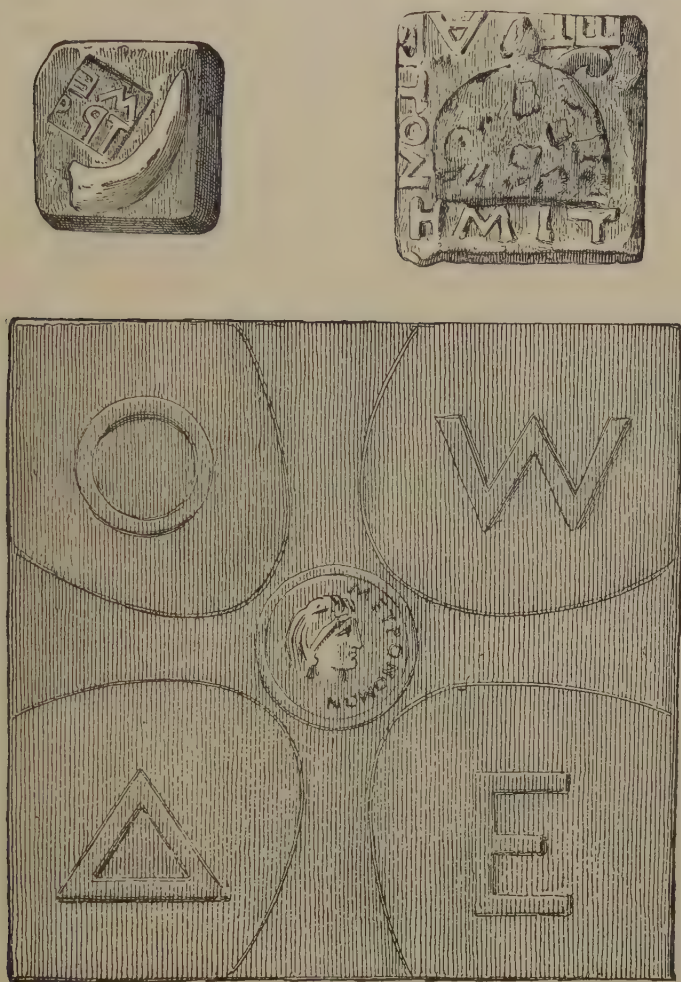
and to members of the general assembly for every day's actual attendance has been severely blamed, although the stipend thus received was only a third of what the State paid for the food of the slave employed in public works. It has not been sufficiently remembered that this aristocracy which was called the Athenian people, managing in its courts of justice and in its assemblies, not its own affairs merely, but those of half the Greek world, had a right to receive indemnity for the time it employed in the service of others. For a time the honor of these functions might have been, and was, sufficient pay. The citizen, owing to the State in time of war his property and his life, would naturally feel that in time of peace he ought freely to devote to the public service his time and his intelligence. "When the noble Myronides was living," says Aristophanes, "no one was paid for serving the State." This might well be the case so long as Athens remained a city; it was no longer possible when, having become an empire, she imposed heavy obligations even upon her poorer citizens. These persons, required to leave their fields or their places of traffic to occupy themselves with the common interests, had a right to an indemnity, and legitimately received it. It has been well said by Aristotle that to bestow money upon the populace is to pour water into a cask which has no bottom.¹ It was so in degenerate Athens and in imperial Rome; but in the time of Perikles, Athens applied, as we do, the principle of compensation to the functions of government, of the army, of the administration of justice, and to political bodies, the senate, the ten orators of the government, and the general assembly, which, placed at the head of the empire, was only a representative body more numerous than those of modern States. The indemnity paid to the senators was a drachma for every day of attendance.²

From this resulted irregularities which were the delight of

¹ *Polit.*, vi. 5.

² The indemnity, or compensation, for daily attendance in the general assembly, has been erroneously attributed to Perikles. It seems to have originated on the motion of a certain Kallistratos, concerning whom we know nothing else. The same custom existed at Rhodes (Aristotle, *Polit.*, v. 5), at Iasos in Karia (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, viii. 218), and probably in a great number of Greek cities. We find it in the last days of Greece, in the Achaian assembly. The principle has been adopted in modern times; and is it not unjust to consider it objectionable as applied to the public assembly of Athens at a time when, owing to the nature of the Athenian power, that assembly had a representative character?

the satirists and the Cynical philosophers; but these reproaches were well founded only at the time when this provision, having



PUBLIC WEIGHTS.¹

outlasted the circumstances in which it originated, ceased to be legitimate. When Athens had lost her empire, and no longer

¹ Athenian weights, of lead, from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. viii. pl. xiv., Nos. 79, 45, and 64. The largest (79) weighs 4 lbs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces; it has two inscriptions: ΔΕΜΟ[σιον], and in the centre, around a helmeted head of Pallas, the word Μετρονόμων. This is a standard weight bearing the stamp of the public officer in charge of weights and measures. There were fifteen of these officers, ten resident at Peiræus, and five at Athens. The second (45) weighs 4 ounces and a fraction, and has an inscription around the fore part of the tortoise: ἡμ' ἐτάρον. The third (64) weighs about 2 ounces, and has in an incused square the inscription μετρο[νόμων] in retrograde letters; at the side is a half crescent.

had other affairs than her own to administer, instead of abolishing the indemnity established for the assembly, the Athenians aug-



SCULPTOR.¹

mented it from one to three obols;² and Aristophanes asserts that Kleon proposed to raise it to five.³ Thus institutions which were at first good are perverted; that which was legitimate and

¹ Vase-painting from O. Jahn, *Berichte der königl. sächs. Gesells. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1867, pl. v. No. 1. A sculptor (ἐργογλύφος), nude and crowned with myrtle, is finishing the pedestal of a hermes, holding it between his knees. He is working with a chisel, and a hammer hangs upon the wall. In the field is an inscription: "Ιπ[π]αρχος καλός.

² Aristophanes speaks of the triobolon for the *ekklesia* only in his *Assembly of Women*, represented in 393, and in the *Plutos*, performed after being rewritten, in 390. Böckh (book ii. chap. xiv.) estimates this expense, when the indemnity was three obols, at thirty or thirty-five talents annually [\$3,600,000 to \$4,200,000]. Probably, however, in fixing at eight thousand the number of persons habitually present at the assembly, he greatly overstates the fact, as later he himself was aware. If we call the annual expense twenty talents, it is not large, nor did it exist in the time of Perikles, and possibly not even during the Peloponnesian war. The salary of the judges was at first one, and later three obols, the latter being the amount allotted by the State for support of the public shares. Aristophanes, in the *Acharnians*, says that three drachmas a day, or thrice the pay of a day-laborer, was the salary of the ambassadors sent into Thrace. But here he exaggerates, for the deputies sent to Philip of Macedon, after an absence of nearly three months, received only a hundred drachmas apiece (Böckh, *Staatshaushaltung*, i. 37). From all these facts we draw the conclusion, that the Athenian democracy paid its public servants very poorly, and demanded much from the rich.

³ *The Knights*, 797.

just, ceases to be so; the State becomes enfeebled, and falls under the weight of ancient rights which have degenerated into abuses.

There is, moreover, a comparison of importance bearing on this subject which has not heretofore been made. In the time of Perikles the wages of the day-laborer were a drachma, — that is, about nineteen cents; the obol, the sixth of a drachma, being equivalent to three cents


HEMIOBOLION.¹

OBOLOS.²

and a fraction. Now, it is evident that no one could live on an obol a day, since the public slaves received three obols from the State for their support. Moreover, there was great industrial activ-

ity, its productions were highly valued, and there was work for every man.³ It has been erroneously be-


TRIOBOLON.⁴

HEMIDRACHMA.⁵

lied that at Athens, as at Rome, all kinds of industry were reserved for slaves; on the contrary, we know that the Athenians neglected none of the advantages derived from labor and traffic. Sokrates was a sculptor, at least for many years, and that he remained poor all his life is due to the fact that he abandoned labor for philosophy. Kleon was a currier; the fathers of Sophokles, of Demosthenes, and of Lysias were sword-makers; Anytos was a tanner, Psammenes a jeweller;⁶ and many other in-

¹ Hemiobolion of Lamia in Thessaly. Youthful head of Dionysos, crowned with ivy, left profile. Reverse: $\Lambda\text{AMIE}\Omega\text{N}$. Amphora; at the right, as a symbol, the vase called *prochous*.

² Lion's head, to the left. Reverse: HPA . A club; under it two ivy-leaves. (Obolos of Herakleia in Thessaly.)

³ All testimony goes to show that the slave was very mildly treated at Athens. But his food and lodging, and the interest on his purchase-money, represented at least an expenditure of a drachma *per diem* on the part of his master; hence we conclude that the mother of Euripides, a poor seller of herbs, and the mother of Aischines, also a woman of low class, had no slaves, and that many Athenians, similarly situated, were compelled to labor for their daily bread.

⁴ Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: $\text{AINIAN}\Omega\text{N}$. Phaimeos, wearing the chlamys, fighting with a javelin, and holding in the left hand his petasos, which he uses as a shield. Coin of the Ainianes in Thessaly.

⁵ Youthful head of Dionysos, crowned with ivy, left profile. Reverse: $\Lambda\text{AMIE}\Omega\text{N}$. Amphora; at the right, as symbol, the vase called *prochous*. (Coin of Lamia.)

⁶ Demosthenes, *Against Midias*, 21. The orator Hyperbolos was a maker of lamps; Eukrates, a dealer in oakum; Lysikles, a seller of sheep, etc.

stances might be mentioned. Many employers had slaves working under them, but many also gave employment to men of free condition. Sokrates, who himself did not labor, except in his own

POTTERS.¹

way, approved of manual industry.² In *The Birds*, Aristophanes speaks of the cock, whose matutinal crow calls from their beds

¹ Engraved stone and vase-painting (from O. Jahn, *Berichte . . . der königl. sächs. Gesells. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1854, pl. i. 4 and 1). Before a closed furnace, on the top of which are two vases, a young man is seated, finishing a vase which he holds in his left hand. The painting represents the interior of a pottery. At the right is the furnace, surmounted by a masque of a satyr. A workman stirs the fire, and another brings a heavy sack of coals; both figures are entirely nude. The next figure is that of the *epistates*, or superintendent, — an old man clad in a mantle and leaning on a long staff. At the left other workmen are forming vases, to be later put in the oven. One, seated on a low stool, is moving the wheel, on which an older workman is fashioning a jar; this has already assumed shape, and the artisan holds it with his two hands, the left inside, the right outside. When so far completed, the vase is exposed to the air and sun; thus the figure directly behind the superintendent has an unfinished vase in his hands, which he is carrying to place in the sun. Finally, with its handles and neck finished, the vase is carried to the furnace. At the extreme left a workman is committing one to an assistant for this purpose. Cf. Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, p. 177.

² Xenophon, *Mem.*, i. 2, 56.

smiths, potters, carriers, shoemakers, bathing-masters, sellers of flour, makers of lyres and of shields. All these put on their sandals, and hasten to the workshop while it is yet dark.¹ It was to the advantage of many men to gain at least the drachma by a day's labor, rather than to reduce their earnings to the one or two obols which they received for their presence in the prolonged sessions of the public assembly or on the tribunal of the heliasts. With time the daily stipend was increased. In 329 B. C. (and doubtless much earlier) it was two obols;² the judges' pay was likewise increased, and the triobolon became the fixed rate.

These facts confirm what has before been said as to the legitimacy of this stipend, and the comparatively small numbers of persons regularly attending the assembly. But with all possible justification of Athenian institutions, a very serious charge still remains.

The problem which political economy has to solve is that of putting the individual in a position to display all his faculties, and the community in a position to make all individual powers subservient to the common good. Of the State we should ask at the present time nothing except to guarantee complete security of person and property by a wise organization of the army, the judiciary, and the administration. This at least is the ideal in the great modern States; but it was not so in ancient times. Athens did indeed secure to her people the largest political liberty, and to the individual the freest development of the abilities given him by nature and education; hence that was the city in which the human mind attained its highest eminence. But, as in many other Greek cities, it was believed that wealth imposed certain special duties upon those who possessed it; and a time came when the rich, menaced in their fortunes by the enormous increase of maritime armaments and of public festivals, conceived a hatred for the institutions which ruined them, and cursed the democratic government which they sought to overthrow.

Athens lacked, moreover, the most essential of all the condi-

¹ Lines 488-492.

² On this question, see in the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, viii. 194 *et seq.*, the great inscription recently discovered concerning the accounts of the temple of Eleusis, with the commentary by Foucart.

tions which make States tranquil, — stability. Its magistrates were appointed by lot, and changed annually. What a difference between the Roman senate and the Athenian, — the latter constantly renewed, and made up at hazard; the other unchanging, and composed of men who had all had the management of public affairs. It would be by a miracle of good sense if in the midst of this incessant change the people had any continuity in their designs;¹ and miracles of this kind were performed only as the multitude in rare cases accepted the sway of one man or of several men whose minds possessed the wisdom which was lacking in the institutions of the State. Men like this are rare, but Perikles was such a man.

IV. — EMBELLISHMENTS OF ATHENS.

THE Roman Emperor Augustus and Louis XIV., the king of France, encouraged among those about them a taste for art and literature, elevating to the mind, ennobling to the feelings, and giving the reality, or at least the outward show, of personal dignity and self-respect. That which these sovereigns did for their court, Perikles did for entire Athens, and, more than any other ruler who ever lived, concerned himself with the lofty interests of the mind as much as with the well-being and the power of his people.

Athens had received from the events of her history the character of a democratic community; it was needful, by a great system of education, to diminish the differences in mental culture among the citizens, so that moral equality would furnish guarantees of the good use to be made of political equality. Perikles instituted contests of music for the Panathenaia, — those solemn festivals at which were present the whole population of Attika, — where runners, athletes, and poets strove for the honorary wreath

¹ A dangerous proposal, defeated by the Five Hundred, might be presented the following year to their successors and find favor. Notwithstanding the law, orators, especially in the fourth century B. C., made propositions directly to the public assembly, without the preliminary examination by the Senate.

offered by the State, and where, according to law, were read aloud to the people the poems of Homer and the *Persika* of Choirilos, the Samian slave who sang of liberty and victory, and who, it is said, received at Athens a piece of gold for every line of his poem.¹ Perikles increased the number of festivals until the city had, Xenophon tells us, more than any other Greek State,—eighty a year; not eighty days of idleness and dissipation,² but great

MUSICAL CONTEST.³

national solemnities, during which the most refined pleasures of the mind were associated with the most imposing display of religious pomp, artistic achievements, and natural scenery. There painters, orators, and poets vied with each other in commemorating glorious or hallowed scenes; there the stage, notwithstanding its satyric and comic drama, was made by the great tragic poets a school of morals and patriotism; and there were sung the verses which moved the Syracusans and Lysandros, and twice saved Athens and the Athenians.

¹ But Choirilos came to a bad end, falling into the companionship of Lysandros (Plutarch, *Lys.*, 18).

² The wild and orgiastic festivals of the Boiotian and Thracian bacchantes were never popular at Athens.

³ Vase-painting (from Benndorf, *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder*, pl. xliii., 4 a). Two figures, wearing wreaths, stand at the left on a platform; the first sings, the second accompanies him on the double-flute. A third figure, also wearing a wreath, is seated at the right; this is perhaps the judge.

The dramatic representations at Athens were originally, as later at Rome and in the Middle Ages, religious festivals. It was believed to be important for the city's prosperity that these solemnities should be celebrated with a magnificence pleasing to the gods. Spectators in the theatre and worshippers at the altar were both fulfilling a religious duty. Hence the theatre of Dionysos was so constructed that it could seat the entire population. At the religious mysteries of the Middle Ages all who lived in the parish were expected to attend, as in Athens; and also, as in Athens,



ARMED RACE.¹

the rich were required to meet the expenses of the representation. In each case the theatrical representation was a *leitourgia*.² This is apparent even in the most daring comedies of Aristophanes, where, amid the coarsest dialogue, is interposed a chaste prayer.

To secure the attendance of every Athenian, Perikles re-established the ancient custom of free admittance to the Dionysiac theatre, — at least in the case of the poor; he established a fund, the *theorikon*, which paid in their stead two obols (about six cents). Like many of his institutions, this was later perverted. This fund for the public amusement was enormously increased, that all the festivals might be made the more magnificent; and a law pronounced penalty of death against any orator who should

¹ Vase-painting (from Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenbilder.* pl. 256, 257). Four runners, with helmet, shield, and greaves, are nearing the goal, where stand two figures, one of whom is doubtless the judge. The tripods at the right and left show that the race was part of some festival celebrated in honor of Dionysos. Cf. p. 347.

² In a description of the performance of the mystery of Saint Martin at Seurre, in 1496, we read that command was made by the mayor and aldermen, with sound of trumpet, that no man should dare to do any labor of whatsoever kind during the three days that were to be occupied by the representation (Onésime Leroy, *Étude sur les mystères*; see also Magnin, *Les Origines du théâtre moderne*).



Dambourgez chromolith.

Imp. Dufrénoy. Paris.

TRAGIC ACTOR
Ivory Statuette

propose to employ this fund for expenses of a war. Perikles could not have anticipated this unfortunate extravagance. Montesquieu says, in referring to the best of laws which become harmful: "It is not the liquor itself which is corrupt, but the dregs." The Athenians of the time of Demosthenes were not those of the Periklean age.¹



VICTORIOUS LUTE-PLAYER.²

However, there is need of reservation even upon this point. Those who have so severely blamed Athens and Perikles for extravagance have always made exception as to the expense of the public buildings and other decorations of the city. The weight of their censure has fallen on the festivals and spectacles. They forget that the expenses of a State are not determined by the requirements of actual necessity, but also by the

¹ Demosthenes complains that the celebration of the Panathenaia or of the Dionysia cost more in his time than a military expedition (*Phil.*, i. 50).

² Vase-painting (from A. Dumont and Chaplain, pl. 16; Collignon, *Catal. des vases peints du Musée de la Société archéol. d'Athènes*, No. 539). In the centre, standing on a platform, is a youth, looking to the right. He wears a long robe and a rich tunic girt around the waist; he has a fillet around his head. In the right hand he holds a lyre adorned with fillets; in his left, the plektron. At the right, seated in a chair, is the judge, also with a fillet on his head; he holds a staff in the right hand. At the left, a Victory is bringing two long fillets, which she is about to attach to the player's head.

demands of public opinion, which are quite as imperious as the former. What in our time is given to individual comfort and luxury, the Greeks gave to the State and to religion. Their houses were small, and very simply furnished; but the temples were stately edifices, the statues of the Olympians were of gold and ivory, and the most precious hangings decorated the habitation of the god. What was it that made a Greek city famous? Its exploits in the past; and in the present, after its power, its public build-

BRONZE COIN.¹

ings and its spectacular displays. The more brilliant and numerous these were, the greater was the renown of the State, the more certain seemed the protection of the gods. Nor were the Greeks deceived; the money that a people expend in patriotic or religious festivals is very quickly repaid to them. Great pageants inspire noble thoughts, because they awaken noble emotions in the depths of the soul. They should be a part of a people's education; but to our modern communities they are a thing unknown.³

BRONZE COIN.²

It was essential that Athens should be worthy of her people and of her empire. To embellish the city with immortal works, Perikles made no scruple of employing the money of the allies' treasury. "So long as Athens fulfils her engagements by exercising

¹ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΑΝ ΜΑΤΡΟC ΑΠΟΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΩΝ. A theatre filled with spectators. At the right, on a platform, a statue of Herakles; in the centre, a victorious athlete; at the temple, in the foreground, the façade of the theatre; in the background, the spectators on benches. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Herakleia in Bithynia, with the type of Gordian the Pious.)

² ΑΘΗΝΑΤΩΝ. View of the theatre of Dionysos at the foot of the Akropolis; above it the grotto decorated by Thrasylos, then the wall of Kimon; above, the temple of Athene, and at the left, more remote, the roof of the Propylaia. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens. Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 394.)

³ The theatre of Athens could seat thirty thousand spectators; at least so Plato, in *The Banquet*, affirms. Mr. Grote very justly observes: "The Theoric fund was essentially the church-fund at Athens, — that upon which were charged all the expenses incurred by the State in the festivals and the worship of the gods. The Dioboly, or distribution of two oboli to each present citizen, was one part of this expenditure, given in order to insure that every citizen should have opportunity of attending the festival and doing honor to the god." The author of the treatise *On the Revenues of Attika* (vi. 1) expresses this thought when he says that if his plans should be adopted, the festivals could be celebrated with greater magnificence.

an effectual protection, no man has a right to call her to account," he said. The people and the city took advantage of this facile morality. A crowd of workmen of every trade found opportunity



1



2



3

LEADEN TESSERÆ.¹

for labor and legitimate gain in the great workshop which Perikles opened to them.² Some-

thing like trade-corporations were organized under leaders, for the purpose of quarrying and hewing the marble, casting the bronze, working in the gold, ivory, ebony, and cedar employed in the construction of the public buildings, or the statues of the gods, in carving the rich decoration of the temples, or decorating them with brilliant paintings.

Perikles invested with the superintendence of these works the sculptor Pheidias, who, like Alexander, had lieutenants worthy of being themselves supreme in command. The Parthenon, or Temple of the Maiden, all of Pentelikan marble, and called also the Hekatompedon, because of the length of the cella (one hundred Greek feet),⁴ was the work of Iktinos. Koroibos began the temple

PHEIDIAS.³

¹ From the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. viii. pl. 32, No. 231, and Benndorf, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des attischen Theaters*, plates Nos. 15 and 46. These tesserae were exchanged for the two obols of the *theorikon*. No. 1 was given on occasion of the Panathenaia, as appears from the inscription ΠΑΝΑ(θηναίων), under a prow of a vessel. Above is a star. The vessel is in allusion to the regattas which made part of the festival; the star is Sirius, the star of the month Hekatombeon. The second tessera, with the word *θυσία*, gave a right to a share of the victims offered in some sacrifice. No. 3 bears on the face the inscription 'Απρέ-μυδ[ος Φ]ωσφόρ[ου], around a lighted altar; on the reverse, the words [Α]θηνα Νίκη[η], around a trophy. In the epigraphic texts of the fifth century B. C. we have more than one example of a distribution of two obols in honor of Athene Nike: Δωβελία Ἀθηναία Νίκη (*Corp. inscr. Attic.*, vol. i. No. 189 a, l. 3 and 6).

² See later, near the end of this chapter.

³ This head is copied and enlarged from the Strangford shield, — a marble copy of the shield, decorated with carvings, which Pheidias gave to the chryselephantine statue of Athene, and on which he represented his own head. Later will be given the shield itself, from a photograph.

⁴ This makes the Greek foot 1 foot 0.135 in. (Cf. S. Reinach, *Manuel de philologie classique*, ii. 161, 96.) The Parthenon was about 228 feet in length, 101 feet in width, and 66 feet in height to the top of the pediment. It had eight columns in front, and seventeen on each side, the corner columns being counted twice. It was finished in 435 B. C.

of Eleusis, one of the largest in Greece. Kallikrates superintended the construction of a third wall, which divided into two the long, broad avenue leading from Athens to the sea, so that in case an enemy should gain one, the other would still remain for communication between the city and her seaports.¹ The Milesian Hippo-

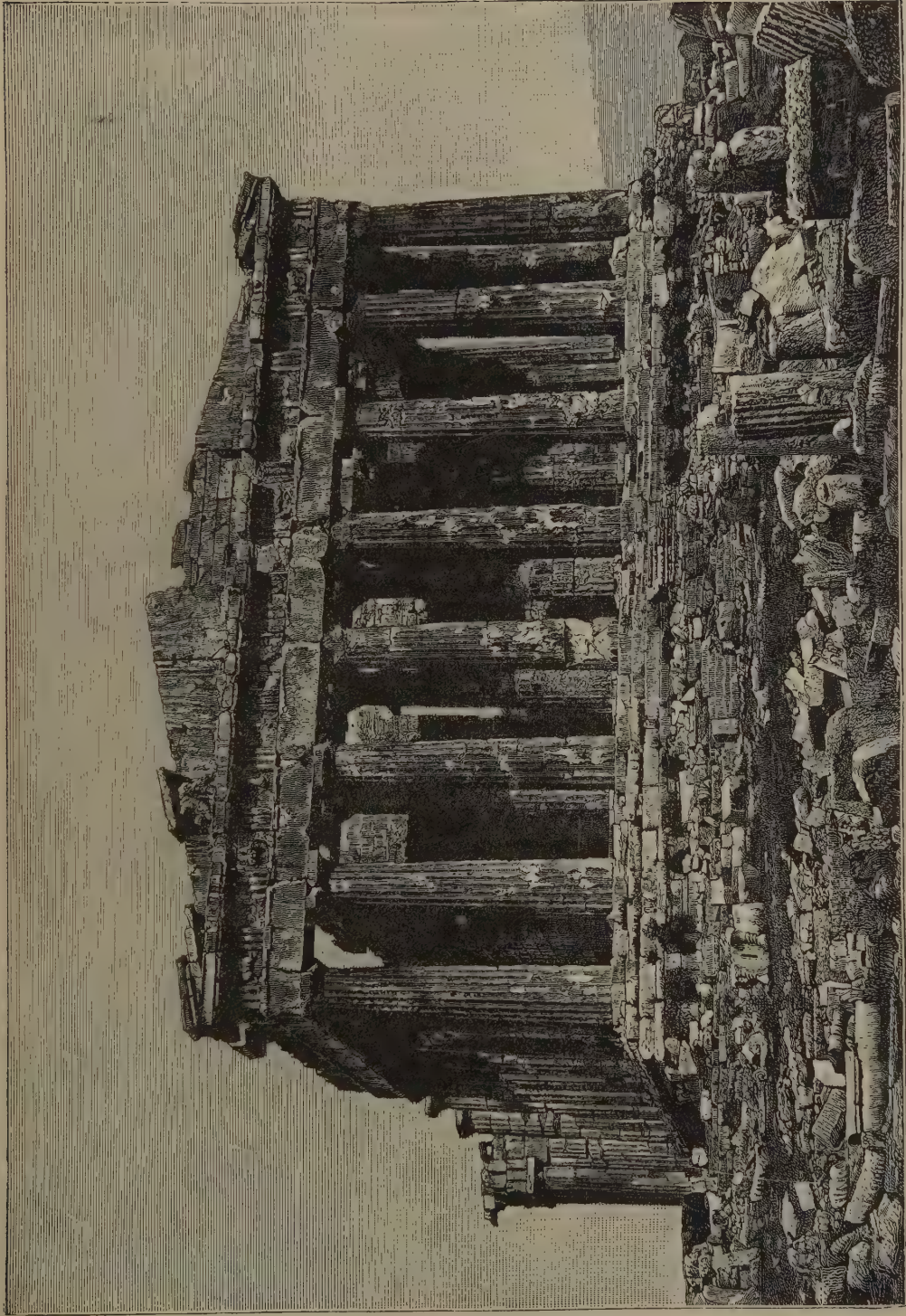


THE ERECHTHEION.²

damos completed Peiraieus,—the first city in Greece built on a regular plan; the first also whose commercial prosperity and defence were secured by immense and costly works. Inscriptions recently found at Peiraieus show that the dockyard could hold three hundred and seventy-two vessels. The Odeion, destined for musical contests, was built on the model of the tent of Xerxes; and the Erechtheion, the masterpiece of Ionic, as the Parthenon is the masterpiece of Doric architecture, was rebuilt. To the archi-

¹ The two walls from Athens to Peiraieus were 23,400 feet in length; the wall to Phaleron was 20,800 feet.

² From a photograph.



THE PARTHENON (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).

tect Mnesikles was due that magnificent vestibule of the Akropolis, the Propylaia, which, built entirely of marble, cost two thousand and ten talents, — more than the annual revenue of the State.¹



THE PROPYLAIA.²

However, many murmured at the great expense incurred in these works. The rich especially blamed a prodigality ruinous to the treasury, and talked loudly of the rights of the allies, whose tributes were employed “in gilding and adorning the city, like a coquette covered with jewels; in erecting magnificent statues; in building temples, of which a single one cost a thousand talents.”

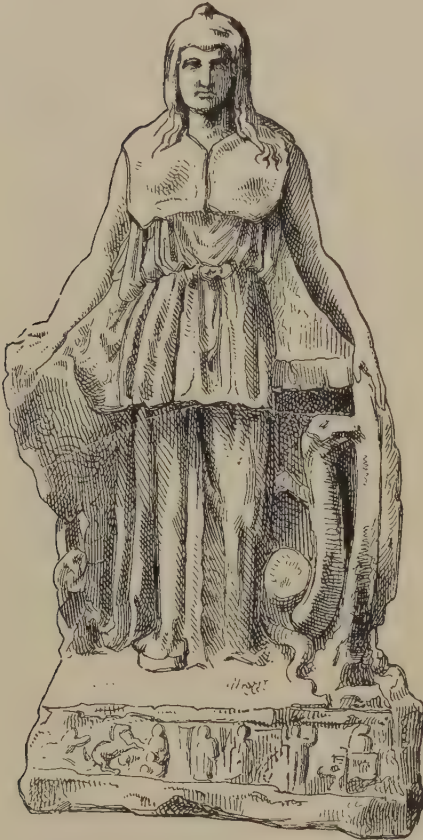
¹ Nearly two and a half million dollars of absolute value. The Parthenon and the Odeion were built before 435 B. C.; the Propylaia before 431, but were not completed. The Peloponnesian war prevented also the completion of the Erechtheion, and the temples of Demeter at Eleusis, of Athene at Sounion, and of Nemesis at Rhamnous.

² From a photograph. The view is taken from the west.

Perikles, it is said, silenced them with a word. "Athenians," he said one day in the assembly, "is it your opinion that I expend too much?" "Yes," was the outcry from every side. "In that case," he replied, "I myself will bear all the expense, and my

name alone, as is just, shall be engraved on all that I build." A feeling for true glory stifled the unworthy complaints. The people with one voice cried that Perikles had done well, and that he should go on in adorning the city, without sparing money.¹

The anecdote cannot be taken as literal, for Perikles never could have said that he would pay a thousand talents into the treasury; but the sentiment attributed to the people was genuine. Another anecdote, no more authentic, also shows the public feeling which really existed. According to Valerius Maximus there was a discussion between Pheidias and the people as to the material to be employed in the statue of Athene. The sculptor preferred marble, because it remains in perfection longer; but he chanced to add that marble would be less



ATHENE, CALLED THE PALLAS LENORMANT.²

expensive, — whereat the people, as if economy towards the gods would be impious, cried out for him to be silent, and bade him make the statue of gold and ivory, and of the purest gold; and granted him for the ornaments a weight of forty talents.³ One

¹ An inscription tells us that in a single year the treasurers of the sacred fund gave thirty-four talents for the purchase of gold (*C. I. A.*, i. 299).

² Marble statuette now in Athens; from a photograph. It bears the name of Charles Lenormant, who was the first to recognize in it a rude reduction of the statue of Pheidias. In 1880 there was discovered at Athens a statue which is a more exact and finished copy of the Pheidian Athene; it will be represented later.

³ I take the lesser sum; it is also said to have been forty-four talents.

pardons much to a people who consent to spend the wealth acquired by labor or in war, not, as did the Roman populace, in the rude sports or sanguinary contests of the amphitheatre, but in noble works which have been the admiration of centuries. We should remember also, and thus acquit Perikles and the Athenian people from the charge of mad prodigality, that with all these works of art there were also works of utility, — the three walled roads uniting Athens to her seaports, the fortifications of the citadel, and the arsenal and docks of Peiraieus, which alone cost a thousand talents; moreover, that, by reason of the strict economy which had governed these expenditures, a reserve of ten thousand talents still remained in the treasury.

V. — THE ATHENIAN PEOPLE.

UNDER Persian compulsion the Athenians had done great things, and for two generations they continued to walk in the same paths of heroism. Perikles did not show them the way in this, but he induced them to continue in it, and this noble labor suffices to his fame. It must be said also that no man had ever more illustrious assistance. Nature, lavish towards her favorite people, had gathered in Athens the most brilliant assemblage of eminent men. They gathered there, as in the intellectual capital of the world, and made it their home; and no more brilliant flash of civilization has ever lighted up the world. What an age it was, truly, when were assembled in one city, as the companions of Perikles, — Sophokles and Euripides, Herodotos and Thucydides, Meton and Hippokrates, Aristophanes and Pheidias, Sokrates and Anaxagoras, Apollodoros and Xeuxis, Polygnotos and Parrhasios, — in a city which had but lately lost Aischylos, and was soon to possess Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle;¹ a city which, moreover, to make the illustrious dead its own, erected statues to their memory. Pindar, who remained unhonored at Thebes, sat in bronze at Athens under the royal portico, a book upon his knees, in his

¹ Aristotle was not an Athenian by birth, but he studied in Athens, and taught there for thirteen years. Perikles was accustomed to invite eminent foreigners. Lysias tells us that his father, Kephalon, visited Athens at the suggestion of Perikles.

hand a lyre, and a diadem upon his head! What should we expect the pupils of such masters to be? What they were,—the masters of Greece. Thucydides says that Athens was at this time the instructress of Greece, as she was the source of its supplies.¹



FRAGMENTS OF AN ATHENIAN LITURGIC CALENDAR.²

Behold this fine democracy going from the theatre of Sophokles to the Parthenon of Pheidias, or to the bema where Perikles speaks to them in the language of the gods; listening to Herodotos, who recounts the great collision between Europe and Asia,—Hippokrates of Kos, and the Athenian Meton, of whom one founded the science of medicine, and the other, mathematical

¹ Athens was the greatest market of cereals in the world. At Peiræus the island people and many States of the mainland sought their supplies. Annually the cities sent thither the first-fruits of their harvests. On this subject see Perrot, *Revue historique*, May–June, 1877.

² From Bötticher, *Philologus*, vol. xxii. (1865) pp. 385–420. The groups or single figures indicate the festivals celebrated in each month. The calendar begins with the month Pyanepsion, at the autumnal equinox, and each month has its zodiacal sign. I. PYANEPSION (October–November). Procession of the *eiresione* (olive-branch surrounded with wool), at the festival of Apollo. A father (1), one of the Eupatrids, follows his son (2), who carries the branch. II. The Lenaia. Vintage and wine-making. Vintager treading the grapes (3). Dionysiac *konephoros* (4). Sign of the Scorpion (5). MAIMAKTERION (November–December). III. Festival of Zeus, *γεωργός*, represented by a team of working oxen. Inspectors (6, 7). The oxen and the sower (8, 9). *Sagittarius* (10). POSEIDEON (December–January). IV. Annual cock-fight in the theatre. A man and a woman (11, 12), representing the Athenian people diverting themselves by the sight of a cock-fight. Three *athlohetai* (13, 14, 15) seated behind a table, on which are five pairs of wreaths or palms; before them two cocks fighting. *Capricornus* (17). The month GAMELION is lacking. ANTHESTERION (January–February). V. The Anthesteria. A man wearing a crown (18). The *Ram*, bearing Phryxos. For the entire monument, see the article *Calendarium* of C. É. Ruelle, in the *Dict. des antiq. gr. et rom.* of Daremberg and Saglio.

astronomy;¹ Anaxagoras, who eliminates the idea of God as distinct from matter; Sokrates, who establishes the principles of morals! What lessons were these! Art, history, science, poetry, philosophy, —all take a sublime flight. There is no place for second-rate talent here. The art that Athens honors most is the greatest of all arts, — architecture; her poetry is the drama, — the highest expression of poetic genius, for it unites all forms in itself, as architecture calls all the other arts to its service. At this fortunate moment all is great, the power of Athens as well as the genius of the eminent men who guide the city and do it honor.

POET.²

As we might expect, a patriotic pride animates this people, exulting in the beautiful city which is their home. Even the obscurest man in Athens feels himself a person of importance, seeing no difference in education between the rich and the poor, and having his vote in the sovereign assembly, where rarely more than five thousand voters were present. He makes the law, and he also puts it in practice in these tribunals where half the Greek world come to be judged by

ATHENE.³

him. He listens to the ablest orators; he discusses with Pheidias a question of art, and decides in the dramatic competition between Euripides and Sophokles. Daily the Athenian sees his vessels sail away from Peiraieus, — some for the Euxine, for Thrace or Egypt; others for the Adriatic, or the Italian or Sicilian coasts. Turning from the sea, which is his domain, and looking around him, he beholds Athens adorned with edifices befitting the greatness of her empire; and among his fellow-citizens he sees so little destitution, so much mental and bodily activity, that he says to himself, "My people are the greatest on land also." And this proud cry is but the echo of what all men think. "A simple and independent life

¹ Concerning Hippokrates, see chap. xxii. Sect. II. Meton constructed on the Pnyx, in 433, a *ἡλιοτρόπιον*, or solar calendar, which marked the day of the summer solstice, and he established the cycle of nineteen years, *ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρίς*, or "the great year," of 235 months, or 6,940 days, called also the Golden Number. This year of 365 days, $\frac{1}{4}$ plus $\frac{1}{75}$, was a little too long.

² Portrait bust of an unknown poet. Laurelled head, right profile; under it a tunny-fish, symbol of the coins of Kyzikos. The reverse is an incused square. (Coin of electrum.)

³ [*Ἀθηναιώ*]. Athene, standing before an altar and making a libation. The altar is under an olive-tree, around which is curled the serpent Erichthonios; on the tree is an owl. (Bronze coin of Athens. Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 286.)

was appointed to every one among the Greeks," says one of the interlocutors in the *Deipnosophists* of Athenæus; "but only the Athenians knew how to find the immortal road." Athens at that time was indeed the city of Athene, the armed goddess of intellect.

This good fortune of Athens was due to her geographical position and to the happy blending of the diverse elements composing her population; but also, and in a much greater measure, to the illustrious men who were her sons, and to the system of



LESSONS IN MUSIC AND GRAMMAR IN AN ATHENIAN CLASS.¹

education which formed them. It was not a very learned training, and incurred no risk of smothering the child's mind under a mass of information useless to his age. It was adapted in every way to encourage the full development of the faculties, and maintained an equilibrium between the education of the body and of the mind. For the State's security it was desired to strengthen all physical virtues,—the capacity of enduring fatigue, strength in wrestling, speed in running, skill in the use of weapons; for the State's greatness, the moral qualities were to be developed by keeping the boy's mind in what may be called an atmosphere

¹ Cup signed by the painter Douris, in the Museum of Berlin (A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung*, etc., No. 2,285); from the *Archäol. Zeit.*, 1873, pl. 1. (The opposite side is represented on p. 210.) At the right is the paidagogos; he is seated, and turns his head to look at the pupil, who is standing before his master. The latter holds a triptych and a stylus; he is perhaps correcting a task. At the left a pupil is taking a music-lesson. In the field are hung a roll, a diptych, and a lyre; it is difficult to decide what the other object is,—it has the form of a cross.

saturated with heroism. At the palaistra, the ephebos strengthened his body by gymnastic and military exercises. At the gymnasium he lived with the poets, inspired singers of gods and of mortals who had overpassed the common limits of humanity. His masters were Homer, Aischylos, Sophokles, who fed his soul with noble thoughts; the gnostic poets, whose sentences were the expression of ancient wisdom; and the lyrics, who dwelt in the high regions of the human ideal. Masters such as these taught him to love his country with absolute devotion, to avoid vicious courses, to shun the errors and the crimes that Nemesis pursues even in king's houses; at the

SILVER COIN.¹BRONZE COIN.²

same time studies less severe, — music, singing, — gave the lad that feeling of harmony and fitness which was in art and letters a characteristic of the Athenian genius. To the age of eighteen or twenty the *epheboi* learned, — in fortresses, the principles of attack and defence; on the frontiers, the vigilance of the sentinel in an enemy's country; in the public assembly, a citizen's duties; in religious festivals, a respect for the gods; in patriotic solemnities, that due to citizens who had died for the country. They were initiated into public affairs while still busy at their studies; and to these future citizens of the freest country upon earth was taught, above all things, the spirit of self-sacrifice. On the day when they received from the State their weapons, they took the oath engraved in the temple of Aglauros, which ended thus: "I swear to leave the country after me, not diminished, but made stronger."³

¹ Ephebos, nude, on horseback; above, ΣΑ; below, ΦΙΛΙΑΠΡΟΣ, a magistrate's name. (Reverse of a silver coin of Tarentum; on the face, the hero Taras on a dolphin).

² Lais, Corinthian courtesan. Head, with waved hair knotted at the neck. Reverse: COL. L. IVAI. COR. (*Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*). Capital of Doric order, supporting a group which represents a panther devouring a ram. (Bronze coin minted near the close of the Roman republic.)

³ See Vol. I. pp. 564, 565. We know the *Epheboia* only as it existed in the Macedonian period; but the words of Perikles prove that it existed in the fifth century B. C., and doubtless much earlier.

We have seen, in the enumeration of *leitourgiai*,¹ that the richest citizens were not exempt from duties as to the training of children. An inscription mentions services rendered by Derkitos, a contemporary of Demosthenes, who had taken under his supervision the schools of the demos Eleusis.²

While the Athenians had, it is true, the vices which are developed by slavery, a soft climate, and the facile morality



APHRODITE.³

derived from their religion; while the seclusion of women (less strict, however, than has been believed) resulted in a twofold corruption, which scandalized neither Sokrates, instructing the hetaira Theodota how to make her trade lucrative, nor Xenophon and Plato, speaking without displeasure in their *Banquet* of a

¹ See above, p. 604.

² . . . ὅπως ἂν οἱ παῖδες παιδεύωνται οἱ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. Later, at Teos (*C. I. G.*, No. 3,059 and *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, iv. 110), at Delphi (Haussoullier, *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, v. 157), and doubtless elsewhere, there were masters paid by the State and appointed by the public authorities. Rome had at first, like Athens, only free schools; but under the Empire there were professorships at the expense of the State. See *History of Rome*, Index, under the word "schools."

³ Copper plaque, of Roman work, from the *Archäol. Zeit.* (1862), pl. 166, No. 4, and p. 304. Aphrodite is seated upon a galloping ram; above her are the Pleiades, which mark the spring; behind her, the dove, the favorite bird of the goddess.

vice unknown in the time of Homer; while, it cannot be denied, far from the noble train who surrounded Perikles, there was a "Bohemia" of which Alkibiades was the leader, and while in the Agora there were men "who walked too fast or spoke too loud,"¹ and in Peiraieus rascals who cheated the customer or caused artificial fluctuations in values,²—we must yet say that it is proper to make allowance for that Oriental sensuality which is found, in every age of the world, in countries where the sun warms all Nature into glowing life,³ that in rich States there are always profligates leading vicious lives, and that in every period of the world men are seen hastening to be rich by dishonest means. In their satyric dramas, even in their most admired comedies, the coarse language and unbecoming gestures disgust us;⁴ and the *Heavenly Aphrodite* of Sokrates, who through love inspires men to noble actions, does not enable us to forget the *Earthly Aphrodite*, much more popular, who delighted in immorality.⁵ But, as we shall shortly see, the drama of Aischylos, of Sophokles, and

¹ Theophrastos, 4. It was the characteristic sign of ill-bred men.

² In his *Études sur les antiquités juridiques d'Athènes*, Caillemer says, speaking of Peiraieus: "We seem to be transported into some great maritime city of modern times, for here are the same contracts, and the same frauds and dangers, that we find to-day. Here, letters of exchange are drawn on foreign parties, and indorsements are added, to strengthen the credit which attaches to the signature of him who draws; there, a bottomry bond is made between a banker and a ship-owner; and while vast interests are committed to the borrower, he, on the other hand, is protected from the dangers of the voyage by a kind of imperfect insurance; elsewhere, speculators make use of late information to affect the market (Lysias, *Against the Grain-Sellers*, § 14). Here, a sailor accuses a captain of barratry for having sunk his vessel in order to escape paying the loan in bottomry; there, traders are setting in circulation false rumors, which will affect the grain-markets and give opportunity for dishonest gains (*Id.*, *ibid.*, § 14). Associations are formed for farming out taxes, or for exploitation of some industry. Some make a fortune, and unexpected reverses impair the credit of others and cause bankruptcies" (E. Caillemer, *Des institutions commerciales d'Athènes au siècle de Démosthène*, pp. 15-16).

³ Demosthenes, or the unknown author of the *Oration against Neaira*, says, *ad fin.*: "We take a courtesan for our pleasures, a concubine to take care of us, a wife to give us legitimate children and a respected house." This is not very moral; but very nearly the same thing was usual in Rome, and it would indicate progress were there such a rule in the harems of the Mohammedan world.

⁴ Aristophanes and the Secret Museum of Naples have given Greek artists a very bad name. Letronne, in his *Lettre sur la rareté des peintures licencieuses dans l'antiquité*, seeks to exonerate them, pleading extenuating circumstances, and greatly reducing the number of cases.

⁵ See in Xenophon. *The Banquet*, 8, the distinction between Aphrodite Ourania and Aphrodite Pandemos. Pausanias (vi. 25, 1) saw, in a temple in Elis, a celestial Aphrodite of ivory and gold by Pheidias (Οὐρανία), with one foot on a tortoise, "to signify," says Plutarch (*Conjugal Precepts*, 32), "two great duties of a virtuous woman, which are to keep at home, and be silent;" and in a grove outside the temple, a brazen Pandemos Aphrodite by Skopas, seated on a goat.

of Euripides was a great school of morals as well as of patriotism, and the teaching of the philosophers carried the human mind to the greatest heights it is able to attain.

In respect to domestic life, we know that polygamy was prohibited, that there were few or no eunuchs at Athens,¹ and that



APHRODITE AND EROS.³

Solon forbade speaking evil of the dead, under penalty of a fine payable to their children;² hence we have a right to conclude that the Athenian family, if not so strictly constituted as in Rome, was at least on a much higher level than in the East. Such was the force of the tie of consanguinity that, in questions of inheritance, kinship was recognized to the most remote degree both in the direct and the collateral lines; that in case of need a posthumous adoption might keep the family in existence; and that in civil

affairs any agreement contrary to morals or public order was considered null and void.⁴ Notwithstanding the famous instances of public severity, the basis of the Athenian character was "sympathy, compassion, and gentleness."⁵ The works of charity which

¹ In the *Protagoras* of Plato, the house-porter is a eunuch; but there is no doubt he was bought in Asia.

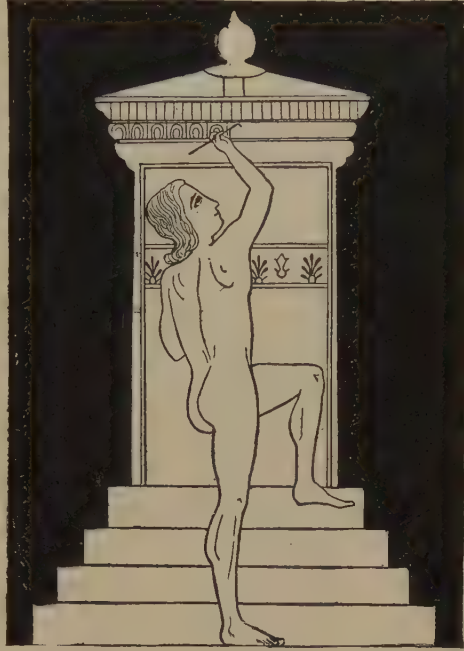
² Plutarch, *Solon*, 21; Demosthenes, *Against Leptines*, 104. Besides the fine due to the family, another fine, of double the amount, was due to the State.

³ Relief from the eastern frieze of the Parthenon, from a cast and Carrey's drawing (cf. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 259). Aphrodite, veiled, has her left arm on the shoulder of the youthful Eros, who leans against her. The goddess herself leans against Peitho. The upper part of her figure is known to us only as drawn by Carrey; for the rest of the figure and for the Eros, we have the casts that Choiseul-Gouffier brought to France, which were probably made by Fauvel.

⁴ Dareste, *Plaidoyers civils de Démosthène*, ii. 2.

⁵ Demosthenes, *Against Leptines*, 13-17; *Against Androtion*, 51, 57; Isokrates, *Antidosis*, 20.

the Athenians performed were many; Demosthenes himself boasts of having ransomed captives and aided poor citizens to give dowries to their daughters.¹ Many others no doubt did the same,—a few, from religious motives; and others, to establish a reputation which would serve them in the general assembly. But when we hear the great orator exclaim: “You know that law of humanity, O Athenians, which forbids a man to injure another, even a slave, . . . and you have punished with death many who have violated it,”² we have a right to ask how many times was it necessary to repeat this word before it entered into the conscience of all civilized peoples.³



YOUNG MAN PAINTING A STELA.⁴

In this community we meet at every step the *sykophantes*, whom we do not sufficiently despise. But it was the fault, not of the men, but of the institutions of Athens, that this race so swarmed there. It had its use in Athens, where there was no prosecuting officer, and only the action of a private individual could set in operation the machinery of civil and criminal justice. Moreover,

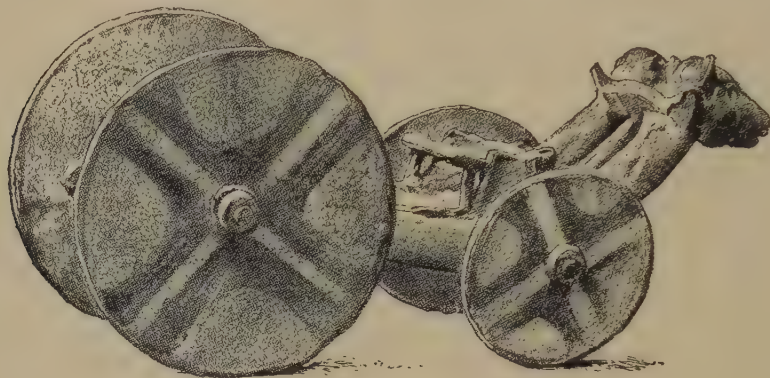
¹ *Concerning the Crown*, 267.

² Demosthenes, *Against Midias*, 45. An action could be instituted against the slave, if he had acted on his own account. *Id.*, *Against Kallikles*. In the *Third Philippic* he says again: “Your slaves speak more freely than do citizens elsewhere” (Hermann, vol. ii. sect. 54, n. 8). And yet Demosthenes tells us the slave cost only 200 drachmas (*Against Spondias*).

³ We even find, in his *Oration against Pantenetes*, a protest against the infliction of torture upon the slave for the purpose of discovering the truth in a suit against a master. This, if the oration be authentic, is the sole instance of the kind among Attic orators.

⁴ Vase-painting from Gerhard, *Festgedanken an Winckelmann* (1841), pl. ii. 1 (cf. *Berichte über die Verhandl. der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1867, p. 111, and the note of Michaelis, p. 113). Not merely ornaments were painted on the funeral stela; human figures and the portrait of the dead person were frequently depicted on it. See, for example, the article by A. Milchhöfer, *Gemalte Grabstelen*, in the *Mittheil. d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. v. (1880) pp. 164 *et seq.*

the accuser incurred risk by his action, and if he did not obtain a fifth part of the votes, his accusation was considered malicious. In civil cases he paid to the other party the *epobelía*; that is to say, a sixth of the sum for which he had brought suit. In criminal cases he incurred a fine of a thousand drachmas, paid to the State, and became incapable of bringing any similar accusation in future.¹ To prosecute, was therefore originally an act of civic fidelity, and a serious matter for good citizens like Ephialtes; later, it is true,

GREEK CART.²

prosecution became a trade, but it was always a dangerous one. Aischines experienced this when he attacked Demosthenes.

Accusers and defenders were alike subject to a rule which unfortunately has never prevailed elsewhere. This people of clever speakers measured eloquence by the *klepsydra*. In their judgment the most difficult case ought to be pleaded in one session, and no orator was allowed to put off the conclusion of his argument to the morrow; every case must be ended in a single day.³

With a political system carried to the very extreme of democracy, Athens would be, we might suppose, a most tumultuous city. But there was in the mind of its inhabitants a counter-

¹ Dareste, *Plaidoyers civils de Démosthène*, ii. 138. The penal system of fines was followed in the Roman courts. (See *History of Rome*, vi. 64.) It has also been largely employed in England, but with much less efficiency in France.

² Terra-cotta in the British Museum (from a photograph). This is a child's toy; the two horses, the pole, and the driver's seat, are roughly indicated. The terra-cotta is painted. Cf. a cart drawn by a child in Stackelberg, *Die Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. 17.

³ There might be reply in civil cases, but none in criminal. See Demosthenes, *Concerning the Embassy*, and R. Dareste, *Plaidoyers polit. de Dém.*, ii. 197.

poise against the passion for change usually found in States where the multitude is supreme. The right of modifying a law had been surrounded with such precautions that, notwithstanding the demagogues, who would have taken pleasure in changing everything, and in spite of the comic poets, who held nothing in respect, this populace, so much subjected to the intrigues of politicians of every



YOUTH VICTORIOUS IN A HORSE-RACE.¹

grade, preserved the sentiment of legality. In his *Assembly of Women*, the great detractor of the Athenian people shows a citizen submissive to an absurd decree "because the first duty of an honest man is to execute the law."

We should also err in regarding the Athenians as a frivolous and gossiping multitude; one of Solon's laws made idleness punishable.² "Poverty," says Thucydides, "is nothing disgraceful for a man to confess. but not to escape it by exertion is disgraceful."³

¹ Vase-painting, from Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenb.*, pl. 247 (reverse of a Panathenaic amphora in the British Museum, No. 573 **). In the centre, on his horse, is the young victor. He is preceded by a herald, who, addressing the judges, makes known to them the name of the victor: Δυνεικέτιο ἵππος νικᾷ (it is the horse of Dyneiketos that has won the race). Behind the horse a man is walking, who carries on his head a tripod, the prize of victory, and has a wreath in his hand.

² Demosthenes, *Against Euboulides*.

³ ii. 40. Xenophon, or rather Theophrastos, in the *Oikonomikos*, 3, says also, "Man, by his labor, brings prosperity into the house." And Plutarch mentions the astonishment of a Spartan on hearing that an Athenian citizen had been fined for idleness. In the *Memorabilia*, III. vii. 6, Sokrates reminds Charmides that the assembly is composed of fullers, cobblers,

And there was no lack of exertion. See the picture drawn by Plutarch of the industrial activity of the Athenians in the time of Perikles: —

“That which gave most pleasure and ornament to the city of Athens, and the greatest admiration and even astonishment to all strangers, and that which now is Greece’s only evidence that the power she boasts of and her ancient wealth are no romance or idle story, was his construction of the public and sacred buildings. . . . Perikles argued that it was with good reason — now that the city was sufficiently provided and stored with all



SCENE OF COUNTRY LIFE.¹

things necessary for war — that the Athenians should employ their wealth in such undertakings as would hereafter, when completed, give them eternal honor, and for the present while in process, freely supply all the inhabitants with plenty; . . . these vast projects of buildings and designs of works giving employment to numerous arts, so that the part of the population which remained at home might, no less than those that were at sea, or in garrison,

carpenters, copper-smiths, traffickers by sea and by land. Elsewhere he explains to Aristarchos that it is better to follow a trade than to live in idleness and be a burden to one’s family. Athenaios (xv. 34. p. 687, ed. of Schweighäuser) says that Solon prohibited to Athenian citizens one occupation only, — that of a dealer in perfumes.

¹ Vase-painting from Dubois-Maisonneuve, *Introduction à l’Etude des vases peints*, pl. liv. 3. Two peasants, carrying provisions and accompanied by two pigs, are walking together.

or on expeditions, have a fair and just occasion of receiving the benefit, and having their share of the public moneys. The materials used were stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, cypress-wood; and the arts or trades that wrought and fashioned them were smiths and carpenters, moulders, founders and braziers, stone-cutters, dyers, goldsmiths, ivory-workers, painters, embroiderers,¹ turners; those again that conveyed them to the town for use,—merchants and mariners and shipmasters, by sea; and by land, cartwrights, cattle-breeders, wagoners, rope-makers, flax-makers, shoe-makers and leather-dressers, road-makers and miners. And every trade in the same

VINTAGE SCENE.²

nature—as a captain in an army has his company of soldiers under him—had its own hired company of journeymen and laborers belonging to it, banded together to be, as it were, the instrument and body for the performance of the service. Thus, to say all in a word, the occasions and services of these public works distributed plenty through every age and condition.”

In presence of all this activity we seem to be in some modern capital undergoing transformation by the enterprise of its inhabitants. Our utilitarians have a saying: “When the builder’s trade prospers, everything prospers.” Perikles would never have looked at the matter thus; his ideas were of a very different order. He had indeed understood, as we have seen, twenty-four centuries before our time, that public works were a pledge of the artisan’s

¹ De Ronchaud (*La tapisserie dans l’antiquité*) shows the importance in Greece of the art of tapestry-making.

² Vase-painting from Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenbilder*, pl. xv. The vintage is gathered by Silenoi: some, climbing the branches or trellis, gather the grapes; one is carrying away a full basket; another is treading the grapes, and the juice flows into a large vat.

comfort; and this class were more numerous in Athens than is usually supposed. But in his opinion art, and not merely utility, was the principle and the end to be kept in view in all these public works. His masons worked in marble; instead of houses, he built temples; and he desired to have his city radiant in beauty, that the citizen might love her the better, and the stranger respect her the more. If, as Bossuet says, and as the wisdom of nations ought to say, "the true end of the science of govern-



A WOMAN AT WORK ON TAPESTRY.¹

ment is to make life comfortable and the individual happy," the Athenian constitution in the time of Perikles attained success.

The Athenian people then, in their best days, were very unlike the portrait usually drawn of them where Plato and Aristophanes are the authorities. The philosopher, so scornful of a democracy, saw in Athens only an idle, gossiping, and greedy multitude, — although its cupidity, satisfied with one or two obols a day, was certainly of a very philosophic moderation. It was in the theatre, in the presence of those whom he ridiculed and who repaid him with applause, that the poet scoffs at the people-judge, the Pnyxian, eater of beans,² and the idlers of the assembly: —

¹ Vase-painting, from Stackelberg, *Die Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. 33. In the centre, a woman is seated at work; before her, another woman stands, looking at her; behind her, a servant carries an empty basket. (See p. 657.)

² In voting the Athenians made use of black and white beans.

"Consider, therefore, how, when it is possible for you and all to be rich, you are in some way involved in difficulties by those who cheat the people on every occasion. Who, though ruling over many cities, from the Euxine to Sardis, derive not a morsel of benefit, except this which you receive. And this they always drop upon you as if from a fleece, by little and little, like oil, just to keep life in you. For they wish you to be poor, and I will tell you why, — that you may know your tamer, and then, when this fellow hisses you on, having hounded you on against some of his enemies, you may spring upon them ferociously. For if they wished to provide a livelihood for the people, it would be easy; if one ordered each of these to maintain twenty men, twenty thousand of the commons would live on all dainties . . . enjoying things worthy of their land and of the trophy at Marathon. But now, like olive-gatherers, you go along with him who has the pay."

Elsewhere he shows Athens, exchanging her good old rustic manners for a ruinous luxury. Here the Athenian of Solon's time and he of the time of Alkibiades are represented by the old worthy, Strepsiades, and his prodigal son, Pheidippides, lover of horses; the father is but a machine for paying the son's debts. Waking in the night, on account of the anxiety these cause him, the old man tosses restlessly upon his bed, and hears Pheidippides, even in his sleep, talking of horses and of expenses. "Ah!" cries the unhappy father, "a demarch bites me."¹ Strepsiades was an honest farmer, happy in his country home; but luxury and civilization attract him, as the moth is allured to the candle.

"Alas!" he says, addressing his sleeping son, "would that the match-maker had perished miserably who induced me to marry your mother. For a country life used to be most agreeable to me, dirty, untrimmed, reclining at random, abounding in bees and sheep and oil-cake. Then I, a rustic, married a niece of Megakles, from the city, haughty, luxurious, . . . perfumed with ointment, extravagance, gluttony. . . . After this, when this son was born to us, . . . she would take him in her arms and fondle him, saying, 'When you, being grown up, shall drive your chariot to the city, like Megakles, with a xystis' [a long state robe, for festivals]. But I used to say, 'Nay, rather, when dressed in a leathern jerkin, you shall drive your goats from Phelleus, like your father.' He paid no attention to my words, but poured a horse-fever over my property."

¹ As we should say, "the bailiff;" but the exclamation has a double meaning.

In *The Knights*, it is still the people who are ridiculed, as was never the most indulgent of sovereigns. By way of answer to the poet, we need only hear the words of a bitter foe of Athens, as reported by an Athenian exile:—

“The Athenians are an innovating people, quick to plan, and to accomplish by action what they have designed. . . . They are bold even beyond their power, and adventurous beyond their judgment, and sanguine in dangers. . . . When they conquer their enemies, they carry out their advantage to the utmost; and when conquered, they fall back the least. Further, they use their bodies, as least belonging to them, for the good of their country; but their minds, as being most peculiarly their own, for achieving something on her account. And what they have planned, but not carried out, they think that in this they lose something already their own; what they have attempted and gained, that in this they have achieved but little in comparison with what they mean to do. . . . And in this way they labor, with toils and dangers, all their life long; . . . and think it a feast if they gain their ends.”¹

What then was this people whom an enemy describes in words like these? This people, who treated the slave kindly and made the stranger welcome; who secured a support to the aged and infirm, and esteemed the children whom war had made orphans as henceforth the State's especial care;² who in the public square erected an altar to Pity, where suppliants might come and suspend fillets, for “alone of all the Greeks do the Athenians assign honors to Pity, although most useful of all the gods to the life of man and human vicissitudes.”³ History can truly say, with Perikles, that Athens, to gain men's admiration, has no need of a Homer; the truth alone is sufficient to make her glorious.

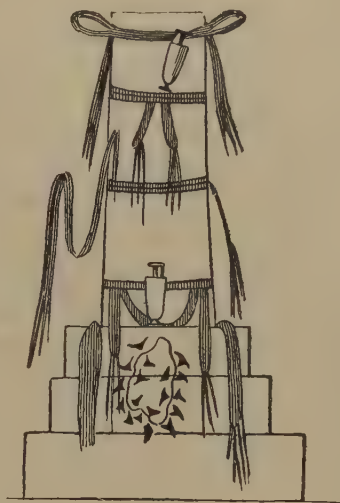
¹ Thucydides, i. 70. Address of a Corinthian to persuade the Spartans to fight. After these words of an enemy, it is needless to quote the eulogy upon Athens uttered by Perikles (Thucydides, ii. 35–46); but what elevation of mind, what splendor of diction!

² This usage did not outlast the best days of Athens. Isokrates, *On Peace*, 82, and Aischines, *Against Ctesiphon*, 154, speak of it as an obsolete custom.

³ Pausanias, i. 17, 1. One of the most serious minds of the present period, Ed. Zeller, the author of *The Greek Philosophy*, says (vol. ii. p. 450, of the French translation): “Athens, which by her brilliant valor had placed herself at the head of the Greek cities, gathering to herself all the men famous by their talents and enthusiasm, entered upon the democratic path. Hence resulted progress singularly rapid in all the domains of the intellect, a keen emulation, a free and fortunate development, which the noble mind of Perikles directed towards the highest ends. Thus this city was able to attain, in the space of one generation, a degree of power, fame, and intellectual development unparalleled in history.”

Aristophanes, who did not begin to write until three years after the death of Perikles, had not the opportunity to attack him in his lifetime; but there was too much wit in Athens for men to sit contentedly in the shadow of the greatness of Perikles, without taking revenge in satire. This is the attitude of the opposition in all prosperous times, and Aristophanes had precursors who did not spare "the Olympian," "men skilled in ridiculing that which all respect, in satirizing the noblest."¹ Kratinos, a famous poet, called Perikles "the father of the gods, the greatest of tyrants, the eldest son of the times and of corruption." Another called upon him to swear publicly that he would not make himself king, while Teleikleides declared that he was already a king. His friends were designated by the hated name Peisistratidai. Aspasia, whom he had married after repudiating his former wife, was called "the new Omphale," or "Deianeira, who had mastered the new Herakles." Others represented him as "the king of satyrs," and set in circulation slanders as to free-born Athenian women whom Perikles met at the studio of Pheidias, and as to the wife of Menippos, "who had assisted her husband to become strategos." The great statesman did not suffer himself to be turned from his path by these clamors, which were the penalty he paid for his fame and power. A law of 440 B. C., to restrain the insolence of comic actors, cannot be with certainty attributed to him; like all laws of this kind, it quickly fell into desuetude, and two years later was abrogated by Epigenes.

However, at last there was observed to manifest itself in the crowd that sentiment which led the peasant to say of Aristeides: "I am tired of hearing him perpetually called 'The Just.'" Those who reproached Perikles with wasting the public money began to



STELA ORNAMENTED WITH FILLETS.²

¹ Lucian, *The Double Accusation*, 33: . . . δεινούς ἀνδρας ἐπικεκρομήσθαι τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ χλευάσαι τὰ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα.

² From a painted vase, in Stackelberg's *Die Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. 45. This is a funeral stela.

be listened to; what was left of the aristocratic party never forgave him for having completed their ruin by bringing the Athenian democracy to such a height; priests and devotees affected to fear for

their gods the philosophic audacities of his friends; and, as often occurs when the public conscience is disturbed, opposing factions united to overthrow the man who stood in the way of their individual aims. The sharpened arrows of the comic poets had been the prelude to more serious attacks. Public hostility first manifested itself towards his friends. Pheidias was accused of having retained for himself a part of the gold which he had received to use in the statue of Athene. Perikles, apprehending the probability of such an attack, or perhaps wishing that this gold might be available to the Athenians in any future day of need, had counselled the sculptor to



ASPASIA.¹

apply it to the statue in such a way that it might be removed without harming the work. Pheidias was therefore easily able to disprove this charge. But another was made against him: he had represented himself on the shield of Athene with the face

¹ Marble bust in the Louvre. We have already said (p. 564) that the hermes of the Vatican which bears the inscription *ACHACIA* could not be regarded as an authentic copy or as an original portrait of Aspasia. The inscription on the pedestal seems to have been added without reason. Bernoulli proposes the name of Aspasia for the bust represented here. There is a second bust in the Museum of Berlin (*Archäol. Zeit.*, 1868, pp. 56 *et seq.*, and pl. 8).

of an old man, and another figure was evidently Perikles. This was sacrilege, according to the religious ideas of the time. Pheidias, threatened possibly with a capital sentence, withdrew to Elis.¹

This condemnation, one of the unjust acts of the Athenian people, was a defeat for Perikles and an encouragement to his opponents. They obtained the passage of a decree which made it treasonable to teach new doctrines about divine things;² and then under this law accused Anaxagoras, one of the most intimate friends of Perikles. More truly religious than were his accusers, since his conception of the divinity⁴ was far purer than theirs, Anaxagoras was, like Galileo at a later day, the victim of intolerance; he escaped from sentence of death only by exiling himself to Lampsakos, where he died some years later.

OMPHALE.³

A charge of impiety was also brought against Aspasia. This Milesian exercised at Athens, by her rare intellect and her beauty, an influence which the noblest men of the time acknowledged. Perikles felt the charm of the fair stranger to the degree that he introduced her into his house as his wife. By reason of her foreign birth Aspasia could not become his wife by law, but he made her so by a tie of affection which never changed.⁵ In attacking

¹ This is the substance of the story as told by Philochoros, who wrote a history of Athens. Plutarch, four hundred years later than Philochoros, represents Pheidias as dying a prisoner in Athens. See, upon this point, the discussion between Émeric David and Ronchaud, *Phidias, sa vie et ses ouvrages*; Max. Collignon, *Phidias*, etc. Müller-Strübing, in the *Jahrbücher für class. Philol.* of 1882, pp. 289 *et seq.*, sees in these stories only legends, and is correct, especially in the matter of the charge of theft. The annual ceremony of cleansing (see later, Chapter XXI.) proves that the precaution taken by Pheidias was necessary and habitual.

² This is the decree presented by Diopithes: *εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι τοὺς τὰ θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας, ἢ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων διδασκοντάς* (Plutarch, *Perikles*, 32).

³ Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,784.

⁴ See the history of Socrates in Chapter XXIV.

⁵ Upon the condition of the Greek woman in the earlier days, see Vol. I. Chapter V. § ii. When the customs of a later age had shut her up in the *gynaikaion*, there happened to her what always happens where the seclusion of women is established, — her intellect became as limited as her horizon. Between her and her husband there was no longer an interchange of ideas, and the latter, finding his home unattractive, — where, besides, he spent so little time, — sought other associations. Hence arose a singular depravity in morals, incomprehensible in our day; and, on the other hand, a vast influence of certain women, beautiful, intellectual, and free. Courtesans took the wife's place; and for one whose influence was beneficial, how many must only have enhanced the corruption in which they lived! Thus the Greek family perished; and once dead, the State could not long survive it. Rome, when in the early days it was so

her, the blow was therefore directed at Perikles. He was able to protect her; but his enemies had the gratification of seeing the greatest of Greek orators reduced to add tears to his arguments. At last an attack was made upon himself, and he was called upon to give account of his expenditures of the public money. But this the people would not permit, and up to the latest day of their great citizen's life they continued to honor in him the wisdom and intellect that had so magnified the power of Athens.¹

strong, fell also when the courtesan eclipsed the matron, and Laïs took the place of Lucretia. The comic poets represent Aspasia as an hetaira; but Sokrates honors her, Xenophon mentions her with respect, and Perikles treated her as his wife. Against testimony like this no other can prevail.

¹ In 444 B. C. the people sacrificed to him the leader of the aristocratic party, Thucydides, a relative of Kimon, who was banished by ostracism and withdrew to Sparta; but Ephialtes, who had aided Perikles in his reforms, was assassinated. Plutarch, *Perikles*, 14, from Aristotle.

² Aphrodite, in a chiton with sleeves, a *stephanos* on her head, holding a flower and looking at it. The goddess is seated in a chair decorated with two sphinxes. Reverse: Athene standing, in a sleeved chiton, the ægis on her breast; she has a helmet with a triple aigrette; on her right hand is a Victory holding a garland, and with her left hand she leans upon her shield, which stands on the ground; in the field at the left is a tree-trunk. (Silver: weight 9.95 grammes. Collection de Luynes. This is a coin of Tarsos or of Mallos in Kilikia. — Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 370, No. 76.)



APHRODITE AND ATHENE.²

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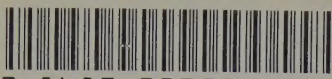
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